A STUDY OF A WEST SEPIK PEOPLE, NEW GUINEA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR SYSTEM OF BELIEFS, KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE, AND PRINCIPLES OF THOUGHT

Two Volumes

by

H. PHILSOOPH

Ph.D. in Social Anthropology
University of Edinburgh
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I declare that the facts and ideas contained in this thesis are the results of my own research unless otherwise stated.

Signed

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ABBREVIATIONS :

A.	Au
E.	English
P.E.	Pidgin English
L.	Latin
M.	Malay

ORTHOGRAPHY : The following phonetic symbols used in the present work are, with some changes, the same as those employed in the linguistic study of the Au language prior to my fieldwork. Symbols adopted by the International Phonetic Association (IPA) for the same sounds are also given below.

Phonetic Symbols used	IPA Equivalents	
a	a	as in back
â	ɑ	as in arm
e	e	as in ten
i	ɪ	as in sit
ii	i	as in see
o	o	as in got
ei	ei	as in page
ai	ai	as in five
au	au	as in how
iu	ju	as in new
aa	a?a	? as in North German verein (fer?ain) or Arabic hamza
y	j	as in yet
h	q	Arabic ق ; Eskimo k

Each pair of the following consonants are, at least often, not quite distinct from one another in the Au language, that is, they are allophones of the same phoneme: p/b; d/t; n/l; and sometimes r/l.

The present writer does not claim full accuracy for the spelling of Au words introduced in this thesis.

P R E F A C E

The first thing to point out about the present thesis is that although it is complete in itself, it is indeed a small part of my study of Puang society. That study attempts to put forward a number of related hypotheses which, if put in a nutshell, directly and indirectly indicate that, traditionally speaking, the Puang's social life and world-view result in feeling at home with the world (i.e. nature and society); an assumption which is also argued to be true of primitive stateless societies in general. The limitations of the present thesis can be seen in the fact that in it this assumption is not even mentioned, let alone examined at any length. Some 200 pages of another volume of the study is already typed, but that volume, being incomplete, could not be submitted.

The ethnographic aspect of the thesis is far more stressed than its theoretical aspect. The thesis was basically intended to be an ethnographic background to the theoretical analysis of the different aspects of Puang thought and social structure in the later parts of the above-mentioned study. The issues which are

ethnographically discussed at some length in the thesis, such as the asymmetric system of alliance and the beliefs concerning the bird of paradise were not, despite what the reader might assume, my central interests in the field. Had such issus been so, I would have been able to give a more far-reaching and detailed account of them here. What formed my central interests in the field were magic, religion, totemism, and cargo cult beliefs which are, for various reasons, only touched upon here.

I have no doubt that a limited number of ethnographic facts in the thesis require further checking, despite my obsession with the authenticity of every piece of information in the field and in the writing of the thesis. I do not intend to publish any substantial part of the thesis before doing further fieldwork in Puang for this purpose and for the purpose of gathering more pertinent data. It should also be mentioned that I am solely responsible for any shortcomings of the thesis. The form and the content of the whole thesis and of each chapter are entirely my own, and I have made no substantial changes in them in the course of time.

I wish to explain here why Dr G. Lewis's book on the people of a neighbouring area (Knowledge of Illness in a

Sepik Society, A Study of the Gnau, New Guinea, University of London), which has also been regarded as a major contribution to medical anthropology, is not mentioned in the present thesis. As will be pointed out in the thesis, there seems to be some basic and general similarities between Puang society and many societies of other linguistic groups in the Lumi Sub-District, where the village of Puang is located. However, the examination of this issue requires separate and comparative study, which should be undertaken later, that is, after sufficient research has been published on the Sub-District as a whole.

Also, the above book was published in late 1975 and I came to know of it in 1976. By that time I had finished my fieldwork (1971-73) and my ethnographic understanding of Puang society had taken shape. For the following reason it was not perhaps without some advantage that, as a student, I did not have aecess to the book earlier and did my research independently. Before going to the field I visited Dr Lewis briefly and he kindly informed me of his research in the Lumi Sub-District, which he was writing at the time. In the field, at the beginning, I also met an American anthropologist, Dr W.E. Mitchell, who was in the middle of his fieldwork among another people in the Sub-District,

namely, the Olo. The fact that two anthropologists were doing research on the Sub-District independently from each other and from me was, I believed, an advantage, as it could give a better chance to others and to me later to check the authenticity of my data and to evaluate my ethnographic interpretations. This was indeed one of the reasons why I decided to do fieldwork in the Lumi Sub-District rather than other Sub-Districts of the West Sepik District.[1]

I should like to mention here that Dr Lewis will be the external examiner of the thesis and was also the external examiner of an earlier form of the thesis submitted in February 1976. I had to submit the thesis at that time, although it was incomplete, as this was the only means by which my period of studies could be extended. The thesis as submitted in 1976 included the present detailed study of the bird of paradise and the present chapters on Malay contact and European contact, with a small number of minor differences. It also included, as my existing copy of it shows, 123 pages of methodological discussion on the study of belief and ritual, with special emphasis on the distinction between

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1. Recently Dr Lewis has published the following book: Day of Shining Red, An Essay on Understanding Ritual, Cambridge University Press, 1980.

the actor's and the observer's point of view.

I wish to thank Dr A. Jackson for his supervision and his generous tolerance of my repetitive excuses for delaying the submission of the thesis. I also wish to thank Professor J. Littlejohn for his moral support in my applications for a Postgraduate Studentship for Overseas Students to the University of Edinburgh, and for a supplementary grant to the Esperanza Trust (RAI). My two years of fieldwork and the year after that were primarily supported by the above studentship and grant. Since 1974 I have mainly relied on personal loans and the generosity of many relatives and friends, especially my brothers and sisters and Dr A.A. Schirazi.

In the course of my fieldwork missionaries were always companionable and hospitable to me, and I should like to thank especially Donald and Aileen McGregor, David and Jacqueline Scorza, Father Giles, and Dr Lyn Wark. Many of the missionaries I came to know lived the life of a saint and were, in practice, committed to certain humane principles to a magnificent degree.

I feel too close to the people of Puang to be able to thank them. It will not be exactly true to say that I lived with them for only two years, during my fieldwork.

Psychologically speaking, I have also lived with them, almost every day, for the last six years. When I left the field, they made me promise to return to them, said that they would keep my hut, and a number of them cried. My feelings for them are certainly not less than their feelings for me. My fieldwork has been intellectually, emotionally, and otherwise one of the most fascinating and rewarding experiences in my life. New Guinea is where I was reborn.

A B S T R A C T

There are 19 Au-speaking villages, with a total population of 4098 (in 1972), located in Au East and Au West Census Division in the Lumi Sub-District. These villages lack any centralized political organization and merely constitute a linguistic and cultural phyle. Each Au village is stateless, politically autonomous, and economically self-sufficient and has kinship and affinal relations with its neighbouring villages. Warfare and destructive magic are inter-village phenomena.

The thesis is mainly concerned with Puang, a typical and large Au village consisting of six hamlets and with a population of 450 (in 1972). In Puang the material culture is neolithic and the subsistence economy is based on shifting cultivation and sago production, supplemented by gathering, hunting, and fishing. Malay contact is recent and may also have taken place in the remote past. European contact has produced a need for radical change and cargo cult beliefs are prevalent.

In Puang descent is traced patrilineally, the residential rule is virilocal, and clans often include

many non-agnates and non-relatives, with whom no attempt is made to create fictitious genealogical connections. The ideal marriage is marriage with FMBSD and wife-givers are superior to wife-takers and conceived as life-givers. The kinship terminology is partly asymmetric.

Identity statements, such as 'The bird of paradise is a woman', abound in Puang and are 'depth-oriented' as well as logical. Puang thought is structured in terms of four universals: identification, opposition, similarity, and contiguity; and the unit of Puang thought consists of two propositions, or four elements, and invariably has opposition as one of its underlying principles.

V O L U M E I

CHAPTER ONE

I N T R O D U C T I O N :
T H E F I E L D S I T U A T I O N

My research, especially because it was primarily concerned with belief and thought and their intricacies, was intended to be the intensive type of fieldwork traditionally carried out in anthropology. Thus I stayed in the field for as long as two years, from 1st September 1971 until 24th September 1973. In the course of that period I lived with the Puang, the people under study, continuously, except that I had to be away from them a few weeks for medical treatment and that I spent a few weekends talking to missionaries and administration officials. I had minimal contact with the outside world and my hut, almost like an indigenous hut, was in the middle of one of the hamlets of the Puang village. My usual contact with Europeans consisted of brief meetings with a few missionaries who usually passed by my hamlet every other month or so. I attempted to establish rapport with the people, participate in their social life, and learn their local

language. I took notes from my observations and conversations, drew up genealogies, tape-recorded myths, ritual songs, and magical spells, and collected detailed data on a few hundred cases of homicide, warfare, love-magic, and especially illnesses and deaths believed to have been caused by the ancestors, spirits, and above all destructive magic.

1. RAPPORT

A fieldworker should, needless to say, aim at establishing rapport with the people as soon as possible. Before starting to live with the Puang, I felt anxious because my being non-European could be a hindrance to the rapport in question. Since they had never seen a Persian, the Puang's reaction to me was not quite predictable. They might consider me anomalous, unclassifiable, and unwanted. What made me more apprehensive was the rumour that cargo cult beliefs are widespread in the whole area. Thus the people might think that, unlike Europeans, I did not know the secret of making 'cargo' (European type goods), and was therefore useless. Or they might think that I knew this secret but, unlike Europeans, would disclose it to them and become a cargoist messiah. In either case my fieldwork would be endangered.

Fortunately, my anxiety because of my being non-European, did not prove well-founded. It was true that the Puang had cargoist beliefs, but they did not regard me as being basically different from Europeans. In the Puang's colour classification, red (A. ninik) is a very broad category. Europeans as well as Chinese and Japanese are classified as red-skinned. I was included in the same class, and my skin colour not being much different from some Australians of Italian origin was helpful in this regard. Besides, I had another characteristic which was thought to be fundamental to all red-skinned people; that is, in the Puang's view, I had a considerable amount of money and manufactured goods of various kinds.

Before starting the fieldwork I also wondered if my being a non-Christian and coming from a dominantly non-Christian country would cause any trouble as far as missionaries and the Puang were concerned. But, happily, missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, showed a great deal of humanity and tolerance in their relationships with me, and I was on good terms with all of them.

The Puang could not make sense of my being non-Christian and, as a result, could not make difficulties in this respect. They thought without

any doubt that God, like their own spirits, exists. For them the question was not whether a person 'believes' in the existence of God or not, but whether a person 'knows' God and is in contact with Him or not. They were convinced that I knew God and was in contact with Him, and this was a reason why I had free access to cargo. Once in the very early stage of my fieldwork, I expressed an agnostic view. An elderly informant of mine asked me, in a tone which seemed to me genuine and honest, what happens to men after death. I told him that I did not know, that there are many people who think they do not know, and that, after all, no dead man has ever returned to tell us what happened to him after death. Later I came to know that this agnostic view had been taken, at best, as sheer deceit. In the Puang's view, I was in contact with the dead, because cargo is made and given by the ancestors, spirits, and God.

Thus skin colour and religious issues did not create any problem in the beginning. Nor was there any other problem worth mentioning in that stage. Indeed I received a warm welcome from the Puang. It was fun, useful, and in a sense prestigious to have a red-skinned man in the village. Villages were in keen competition with one another for attracting such men. In the course of my fieldwork members of other

villages tried to persuade me many times to ask some friends of mine to come and stay with them.

As I said earlier, I came to know in advance that the whole area might be under the influence of cargoist beliefs. What I did not know was that these beliefs were destined to form my most important and persistent obstacle to establishing rapport and an atmosphere of mutual trust with the people. In the Puang's eyes I was, as would be any European fieldworker, a 'thief' stealing from them all the time. According to them, the ancestors of both red-skinned people and New Guineans make and send cargo to their own descendants. But red-skinned men steal the New Guinean share of cargo, obliterate the original names from the parcels and put their own names on them.

In consequence of cargoist beliefs, the Puang believed that I knew their ancestors and was in contact with both red-skinned and black-skinned ancestors. On my arrival in Puang there was an incident which appeared to confirm this belief. I hired some men from the village to build me a hut in the hamlet in which I decided to stay. The Puang suggested a site at the end of the hamlet. They made this suggestion, I believe, because, on the one hand it was a piece of suitable ground, and on the other they did not think I would

like to live with them more closely. I, however, preferred to be closer to them, and in the middle of the hamlet I selected a site which happened to be, without my knowing it, near where a number of people were buried. The Puang did not raise any objection openly and my hut was built where I wished it to be. But they came to the conclusion, as I was informed later, that I knew in advance where the dead were buried in the hamlet and desired my hut to be near the dead.

Since the Puang assumed that I knew their ancestors, they were unwilling to give me information concerning this matter. When I asked them, "If I know your ancestors why do I bother to ask you about them?" they replied, without being dishonest, "We do not know why. You should tell us why." They even assumed that I was better informed about their ancestors than they were. More than once I was asked if I would divulge the forgotten names of their remote ancestors. In the Puang's view one of the reasons why they are unable to contact their ancestors to obtain cargo is that they have forgotten many of the ancestors' names: Puang genealogies are usually very short.

Likewise, the Puang were reluctant to talk about their spirits, which were believed, like God, to have

supervisory control over cargo. Once I had recorded a myth concerning a major Puang spirit, namely, tipir ka Yawitaluk (A.), and I was eager to collect more information about it because it could prove to be their Supreme Being. But my attempt to obtain additional data was in vain and I was finally told explicitly: "We are not going to tell you anything more about him, unless you tell us his secret name".

Information regarding their ancestors and spirits, which play an important role in their belief and thought, was not, however, the only type of data which the Puang tried to hide from me. They were also reticent with regard to destructive magic, although they believed I was ignorant of it and would not use it against anyone after learning it. At the present time the Puang are ashamed of practising this magic and feel that its practice is an obstacle to the arrival of their share of cargo. In their view, red-skinned people receive cargo because, among other things, they do not harm each other by destructive magic.

It is true that I had, almost always, at least a few informants to depend upon, but my relationship with them was not satisfactory. I could not talk to them about many topics I was interested in, and their association with me was motivated by cargoist ideas

and could not last very long. They expected me to reveal to them the secret of cargo in return for the information I received from them. Although red-skinned men have not so far disclosed this secret, the arrival of any man of this kind raises new hopes among the indigenous people. My arrival was felt to be especially auspicious because I tried to be very close to the local people. After working with me for, at the most, a month or two, each informant of mine usually asked me, explicitly or implicitly, to tell him the secret in question. Since I did not, he severed relations with me and I had to look for others who, although still having cargoist hopes in me, could replace him. When asking for the secret of cargo my informants often said that it would be enough for them if I told them how to write letters, or if I wrote letters on their behalf. There was an element of truth in this idea, as without sending orders by letter and cheques - cheques were, in the Puang's eyes, a type of letter - I, for example, could not receive my goods.

Cargoist ideas created the major problem for my fieldwork because the Puang not only considered them to be true but also appeared to be often concerned with them, consciously or unconsciously, and their cargoist faith was very genuine and deep-rooted.

They practically treated me as a cargoist thief in daily life and I could feel this increasingly from their behaviour towards me and from the way they talked of, and looked at, my possessions. They had even asked young men who were able to read pidgin English to check my parcels, when the parcels arrived in the village, in order to see if any Puang name was still, by any chance, on some of them.

Moreover, cargoist ideas had a significant moral aspect. When I told the Puang that I did not know their ancestors and spirits they felt insulted and thought that, apart from lying, I was trying to make them look foolish. When I did not divulge the secret of cargo to any informants they felt indignant and humiliated. They thought that they had told me many secrets of their life and that I ought to reciprocate by telling them my secret. Some of my informants tried to explain to me, more than once, that it would not do me any harm if I let them have their share of cargo, that writing cargoist letters for them would not take much of my time, and that they would promise to keep the secret only to themselves. Since I still did not tell them the secret they thought that I was extremely egoistic and inhuman.

What I have so far said about cargoist beliefs

and their negative effects on my fieldwork is true of, roughly speaking, the first six months of my stay in the field. If it were entirely true of the whole course of the fieldwork I would not have sufficient and reliable data to write the present dissertation. After the first six months my relationship with the Puang began to improve. The Puang felt gradually that my actual and daily behaviour towards them was not in accord with their cargoist image of me. They began to feel that I was not less than human and that I was trying to be kind and helpful to them in many respects. As a result they grew puzzled. Finally they concluded that although I was a red-skinned man and therefore bound to steal their cargo, I was, personally, friendly towards them and would have revealed the secret of cargo to them if my 'boss' (P.E. bos) had not ordered me not to do so.

They also modified their view of my gathering ethnographic information. They reasoned that although I knew their ancestors and spirits, when I questioned them about these matters I was not trying to deceive or insult them, but simply testing their honesty, that is, checking whether they gave me correct answers or not. Some went further and argued that they should be honest in this regard otherwise I might write a report on their dishonesty and, consequently, somehow

retard the arrival of their cargo in the future. As for magic, they grew more inclined to confide in me regarding it.

In the course of time, mutual friendship and trust between me and the Puang developed to a deeper degree. They identified with me to the extent that at times they said that, compared with other red-skinned people in the area, I did not receive a fair share of cargo and that was because part of my cargo, like the Puang's entire cargo, was stolen on its way to the village. They insisted that since I had enough 'power' (P.E. pawa), I must not allow this situation to continue.

I wish, however, to stress that it would not be true to say that, after the first six months, my relationship with the people was always satisfactory. The Puang oscillated between friendly and unfriendly attitudes towards me. This oscillation was not due to any friction between the Puang and me, but due to the fact that their friendly attitude towards me, at a personal level, was sometimes overpowered by their long-standing antagonistic cargoist beliefs about red-skinned people in general.

2. PARTICIPATION

Social anthropology has a somewhat privileged

and unique position among the other social sciences, such as sociology, in that anthropological fieldwork gives an excellent opportunity to the observer to 'experience'[1] and become personally involved with, rather than merely 'observe', the social phenomena he is trying to study. For epistemological reasons beyond the scope of the present work, such an experience and personal involvement could have significant effects, consciously and unconsciously, on the observer's attempt to understand a phenomenon in depth and to the full. Nietzsche writes:

> "It makes all the difference in the world, whether a thinker stands in personal relation to his problems ... or can only feel and grasp them impersonally, with the tentacles of cold, prying thought."[2]

In the field, personal involvement takes place through participation, which could have different forms. The observer may participate in the social life of the people in the form of acting as they do; for example, by taking part in actual gardening or hunting. He may also participate, not by acting as the people do,

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1. "An 'Erlebnis' [German; E. experience] is not just any 'experience' ('Erfahrung'), but one which we feel deeply and 'live through'". In M. Heideggar, Being and Time, trans. by J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson, Oxford. Basil Blackwell, 1973, p.72n.
2. J. Passmore, A Hundred Years of Philosophy, Penguin Books, 1968, p.470; cf. H.J. Blackham, Six Existentialist Thinkers, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1972, pp.23-24.

but by interacting with them; for instance, by bringing medical equipment to the field and treating the people. Acting and interacting participation may, of course, be different types of action or different aspects of the same type of action.

Participation may also be divided into active and passive. The examples just given illustrate acting and interacting participation in their active forms. An example of acting in its passive form is the occasion on which the observer takes part in a ritual, such as a ritual dance, merely by joining the spectators. An example of passive interaction is often the initial stage of the fieldwork when the observer's interaction with the people is usually at a minimum and not of much depth, as he is still a stranger or guest. The distinction between active and passive participation may, of course, be a matter of degree rather than of kind. Personal involvement takes place truly through the active, and not the passive participation.

In the field, I tried to take part in the Puang's social life in any form, according to the type of opportunity available. I did, however, especially attempt to seize any opportunity for active participation. As far as acting participation is concerned, I tried to join in gardening and fishing, for instance, not as a

somewhat superfluous, so to speak, 'guest-participant', but whenever I was really needed to replace another man who had something else to do at that time. I participated in ritual dancing and singing, sometimes lasting a number of complete and successive nights, after I had learned enough about the Puang to appreciate the rituals and when, on the one hand, the Puang were willing to accept me as a participant and, on the other, I felt genuinely inclined to take part in these activities.

If I could have been accepted as a member of a kin group it would have had the advantage of both acting, namely, having a specific kinship position, and interacting, namely, having some obligatory social relations with others. But this was not feasible and, as the Puang pointed out, could have created factionalism. I thus tried to make a different arrangement. For the most part of my fieldwork, each month I was closely associated with a nuclear family. The members of the family, especially the male ones, looked after me by fetching water and firewood providing local foods and so forth; and also the male members usually became my regular and very trustworthy informants, at least for that period of time. In return I gave the family a payment and some gifts, and my hut was open to them as if it were their own. This rotatory

arrangement was supported, and indeed inspired, by the Puang, who regarded it as a means by which factionalism was avoided and my payments and gifts were distributed equally in the village.

As far as interacting participation, especially its active form, is concerned, I provided, for instance, some medical facilities and books, took advice on medical matters from the missionary and administrative hospitals, and tried to take care of the Puang in a modest way. This created an opportunity for a great deal of interaction with the people, as they had often the type of health problems with which I was capable of dealing, such as minor skin problems.

But interacting participation was not, basically, a problem for me in the field. In this regard, I was automatically a participant in its most active form, almost from the very beginning. As was noted earlier I was assigned, by the Puang, to play a significant rôle in their cargoist world from the outset. The first time I met them I was not truly a stranger to them, although they had not seen me before. In their view I had been a participant in their world even before coming to meet, and live, with them: in their view I had been in contact with their ancestors and had known the secret of getting cargo during my whole life.

My supposed cargoist position was of central interest to the Puang and made them to compete with each other in interacting and becoming intimate with me as much as possible. At first I was not, of course, willing, or able, to accept this position. The first time an informant of mine refused to tell me his ancestors' names on the ground that I already knew all the Puang's ancestors, I smiled spontaneously, having the same feelings that the reader may have in reading the above-mentioned cargoist assumptions. But soon the psychological and moral pressure of an almost ever-present 'spectre' of cargoist beliefs forced me to realise the weight of such beliefs and the serious and sad aspect of a cargoist situation. I thus lost my ability to derive amusement from any aspect of cargo cults. I grew increasingly involved in the world of cargoist beliefs, and often 'lived' there. It is true that, intellectually speaking, I usually thought that the world of cargoism was, so to speak, like a place where men stand and walk on their heads. But I felt increasingly unable to see that world as strange and unnatural. There came a time when the view that European goods were made by men, not by the ancestors or spirits, appeared to me almost merely as an alternative hypothesis and rather odd if not unreal. I needed

my occasional conversations with the missionaries to be reassured, although temporarily, that such goods were indeed man-made.

It may be said that a field situation dominated by cargoist beliefs could provide the observer with a special opportunity to experience and 'live' an alien set of beliefs intensely. In such a situation the observer is, among other things, personally and strongly attacked by continual accusations. But this is not, usually, the case with other sets of beliefs such as magic. As the anthropological literature shows, the observer is seldom accused of personally practising magic. Even if an accusation is brought against him in this regard it is, most likely, a passing incident.

In the field I was never accused of practising magic, even after I came to know the theory and practice of magic, at least in the Puang's view, very well. Nor have Europeans, Chinese, or Japanese ever been the target of such accusations in Puang. In contrast with the case of cargoist beliefs, the Puang think that red-skinned people in general do not know magic and are not inclined to use it.

Thus it would seem that I experienced cargoist beliefs to a considerable degree. But I needed to experience some other aspects of the Puang's social life

too. And what is more, I needed to counteract the antagonistic aspect of cargoist ideas, which was a great hindrance to the establishment of rapport with the people and the continuation of my research. To this end I made a number of attempts one of which, in the form of interacting participation, was as follows:

A few weeks after my arrival in the village the Puang suggested that I should open a trade-store. This would save them the trouble of going to distant trade-stores in missionary stations. It would also be prestigious for the village in its relation to its neighbouring villages. At first I rejected the suggestion totally, as it seemed to harm my research. But later, on reflection, I agreed to provide the people regularly with tinned fish, which was their main item of interest in the trade-stores. The provision of tinned fish was not a problem because I myself lived on it and had only to order some extra cartons of it every month. I started selling fish to the Puang and since, in practice, it proved to be advantageous to my work I continued to do so till the end of the fieldwork. I wish to enumerate some of its advantages briefly here:

(a) It made me a needed and responsible part of the community. It convinced the Puang that I could be helpful and not only inquisitive. It was also a source of

income to them. They were paid for carrying cartons of fish from where the missionary planes landed to the village.

(b) It helped me to establish personal relationship with almost everybody, men, women and children, in the village rather quickly. This personal relationship was, among other things, an opportunity for recruiting informants. In selling fish to men I often had a chat with them which, apart from being useful in itself, was a basis for finding and selecting informants.

(c) Mainly as a result of (a) and (b), it was helpful in creating rapport and in counteracting antagonistic cargo cult beliefs. From the Puang's point of view, in selling tinned fish to them I was, in a sense, sharing a most valuable cargo of mine with them. For them, as they explicitly said, providing cargo, even if not free, was a friendly gesture.

(d) It made me better-informed about kinship relationship in the village. Animal meat is an important part of the Puang's diet

and their gift-exchanges. In the past, the meat was obtained basically from hunting and fishing, but nowadays it is partly bought from trade-stores in the form of tinned fish and meat.

(e) It helped me to get to know the people of neighbouring villages and take a number of their men as informants. The amount of fish which I ordered was usually not more than what the Puang and I needed, but occasionally I sold some fish to outsiders and made friends with them. As will be seen later, having informants from neighbouring villages was vital to my work in many respects, for example, in checking a variety of statements made by the Puang about those villages.

3. CONVERSATION

A special significance should be attached to conversation between the observer and the actor. This is necessary particularly because even Malinowski, the great fieldworker, tends to emphasize observation at the cost of conversation:

> "Malinowski, of course, used informants, but only to supplement what he knew already; his first line of evidence

> was always first-hand observation by the fieldworker himself. Empiricism could hardly be carried further. Culture consists in what the fieldworker himself observes ...."[1]

Malinowski's wellknown distinction between 'ideal' and 'actual' is of great value, and Levi-Strauss's differentiation between conscious and unconscious models could be regarded as the development of it.[2] But this distinction has a negative aspect. It gives the impression that what the observer gets out of the conversation with the actor is merely an ideal and misleading picture of what actually goes on in the actor's society. But, in his statements, the actor may not only idealize the actual but also explain it and show what meaning it has for him.

Leach has criticized Malinowski in this regard cogently. Malinowski states

> "... while making his observations the fieldworker must constantly construct: he must place isolated data in relation to one another and study the manner in which they integrate .... The principles of social organization, of legal constitution, of economics and religion have to be constructed by the observer out of a multitude of manifestations of varying significance and relevance ...."[3]

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1. E.R. Leach, 'The Epistemological Background to Malinowski's Empiricism', in Man and Culture: An Evaluation of the Work of Malinowski, ed. R. Firth, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963, p.120.
2. Conscious and unconscious models are discussed in the second volume of the thesis.
3. E.R. Leach, 1963, op.cit., p.134.

Having quoted this statement, Leach observes:

> "Logically speaking, Malinowski would need to maintain that, for the Trobrianders themselves, 'Trobriand culture as a whole' does not exist. It is not something that can be reported on by Trobrianders, it is something that has to be discovered and constructed by the ethnographer."[1]

Leach's above logical conclusion is, however, overlooked by Malinowski. Referring to Malinowski, Leach goes on to say:

> "In an earlier work he specifically mocked at the account of Trobriand social structure that one might expect to obtain from a professional Trobriand informant, though when he himself attempted to write a concise description of 'The Constitution of Trobriand Society' (1935, Vol.1, pp.33-40) the result resembles most strikingly that given by his imaginary despised 'informant'."

Then Leach begins to make his critical comments on the distinction between ideal and actual:

> "Now it is certainly true that in recognizing quite specifically that there is a marked divergence between 'ideal' and 'actual' behaviour, Malinowski made explicit a fact of the greatest sociological importance .... But he went much too far in the other direction. He appears to have regarded the ideal construct of the native informant as simply an amusing fiction, which could at best serve to provide a few clues about the significance of observed behaviour. Truth was

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1. E.R. Leach, 1953, op.cit., p.134.
2. Ibid., p.135.

> 'pragmatic', objectively observable; it lay in what men did, not in what they said they did. Yet surely in Malinowski's own analysis of myth a counter argument is already apparent? If myths are to be regarded as charters for social institutions, surely the intelligent informant's descriptions of his own society are also 'a kind of myth', a charter for human action, none the less important because the rules are not precisely obeyed?"[1]

Conversation between the observer and the actor may be divided into passive and active. It is passive when the actor plays a passive part and is, so to speak, merely a source from which information is extracted. It is active when the actor is actively interested in it and is occasionally given the opportunity to treat the observer as a subject of study. In other words, sometimes the actor should be allowed and encouraged to express his views and ask questions about the observer's society and its styles of life and thought. Nowadays, fieldwork is most often carried out among primitive societies which have been in contact with technologically-advanced cultures, usually a European-type culture, for a considerable period of time. In such societies people have developed various views of European culture and are interested in talking about it.

It may be objected that the purpose of fieldwork

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1. E.R. Leach, 1953, op.cit., p.135.

is to study the actor and not to be studied by him. This is, no doubt, true. But it should go without saying that to know a person is, among other things, to know not only what he says about himself but also what he says about others, especially the 'significant others'.[1] Likewise, to know the actor is to know not only what he says of his own society, but also what he says of other societies which are significant to him, such as the European. The actor's statements on Europeans is of interest in fieldwork solely because the statements may reveal to us something about the actor himself, in an unconscious way. For example, the Puang's view, considered earlier, that Europeans do not know destructive magic but do know, despite denying it, that cargo is made by the ancestors, sheds a great light, as will be shown later, on the Puang's different attitudes towards destructive magic and cargo cults.

In the field I attempted to have both passive and active conversations with the Puang. As far as active conversation is concerned, as I had expected, the people had certain formulated ideas of red-skinned men in general and Europeans in particular, and were very interested to discuss those ideas with me. In such

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1. For the term 'significant others' see G.H. Mead, Mind Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist, ed. by C.W. Morris, University of Chicago Press, 1934; and C. Wright Mills and H.H. Gerth, Character and Social Structure, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1969.

discussions the Puang were, unconsciously, informative about themselves, especially about their cargoist beliefs and the assumptions underlying those beliefs. To give a few striking examples of their views on Europeans. It is believed by the Puang that Europeans never die, that Europeans do not have self-government, that European women do not undergo menstruation, and that European men get married by paying bride-wealth. Such views arouse enough curiosity by themselves but, as will be shown later, what is more interesting is the rationale behind them.

Since I attach, a special importance to having the actor's own statements in the consideration of any issue relating to him, particularly to his beliefs, I tried to do my utmost to talk to the people and to get them to talk as much as possible. On the average I had five hours of conversation, apart from casual chatting, with different informants on every day of the week. And in the course of time, my informants grew numerous, some of whose names and characteristics will be stated presently.

To have many informants was, among other things, vital for obtaining sufficient and especially authentic data. Checking the authenticity of data was the most

exhausting and time-consuming aspect of the fieldwork. After some decades of contact with red-skinned men the Puang have developed an extraordinary ability to hide a great deal of their ideas and actions from any man of this kind. Moreover, traditionally the Puang are accustomed to being secretive. In the village, many ritual matters are sometimes strictly secret in relation to such categories as women, young men, and other clans. Secrecy is, of course, particularly observed in relation to other villages, in such matters as destructive magic.

As it was also noted in our discussion of rapport, in the existing conditions it is very difficult for a red-skinned person to make real friends with the Puang and become well-informed about them. The difficulty can be coped with only by the intensive method traditionally used in anthropology. Information obtained in any other way could be misleading, and sometimes in direct contradiction with the data resulting from the intensive method. This will be illustrated later with reference to the Puang's idea of myth.

At first, my mode of communication with the people was pidgin English, in which I grew fluent after a few months. It would not be correct to think that pidgin English is, as a means of communication, quite poor, unreliable, and unnecessary. The Puang themselves use

pidgin frequently in daily life. All men except a few very old ones, and all women under thirty years of age, speak it. Pidgin is, in fact, complementary to the native language in certain respects. For example, the former has a common noun for spirit (masalai), which was useful for my work, whereas the latter does not. Besides, a fieldworker here has to start learning the native language through pidgin English.

My second mode of communication was the Puang's native language, which was spoken in a number of other villages too. A member of a linguistic and religious institute in Papua New Guinea had studied this language for a few years, while intending to translate part of the Bible into it. He had produced two pamphlets, one on the grammar and one, although largely incomplete, as a small dictionary. I much benefited from his work, especially in the early period of the fieldwork.[1]

As far as the native language is concerned, when I left the field I could understand my informants in matters of interest to me, such as magic, almost fully, and I could make myself understood to them 70% of the

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1. D. Scorza, Au Language Grammar Essentials for Translation, typescript, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea, 1970. I lost Scorza's handwritten dictionary on my way back to the U.K. I do not recall if it had yet a title.

time. In daily life my ability to understand the people did not generally exceed 80%, and my competence to converse with them was not usually more than 50%.

I wish to be more specific about my informants, as the type of data a fieldworker collects could have something to do with the type of informants he acquires. The social position and the age of an informant are, for instance, two of the factors which may well influence the kind of factual information he gives and the way in which he explains his facts. As far as magic and religion are concerned another significant factor is the extent to which an informant is intellectually-orientated or practically-orientated.

In the field, I attempted to select informants of various types, while bearing in mind factors such as the above-mentioned ones. And I tried not to lump together data collected from different types of informant indiscriminately. The names of my main informants are as follows:

1. Heikne; 2. Meikun; 3. Yotan; 4. Wânki;
5. Manyapu; 6. Wânhi; 7. Wâyâpai; 8. Ikai;
9. Tano; 10. Meyes; 11. Yâwel; 12. Yewânon;
13. Wânanap; 14. Sapinom; 15. Yankaliya;
16. Yaku; 17. Wârâpai; 18. Kâmne.

The above names are mentioned in order of roughly-estimated age, No. 1 being the oldest, in his eighties and in fact the oldest man in the village, and No. 18 the youngest, in his teens. The informants belonged to various clans and lineages and this often affected, among other things, the type of magical spells they gave me. No. 3 was the ex-headman (P.E. Luluai) of the village, and No. 11 was his ex-deputy in the hamlet where I stayed. No. 13 was the village-councillor, and No. 6 was one of his deputies. No. 17 was the missionary school-teacher resident in the same hamlet as I was. No. 15 was one of the two famous leaders in a cargo movement in 1957. The other leader, one of whose close associates was No. 6, had died before I went to the field. Nos. 1 and 16 were the late cargo leader's father and brother respectively.

Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 10 were all, so to speak, expert in magico-religious matters in one way or another. No. 1 was the best narrator of myth, and Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 and 10 were famous for their knowledge in magic. In some respects, Nos. 1, 5 and 6 were typically intellectually-orientated, and Nos. 3, 11, 14 and 16 were typically practically-orientated. Nos. 4, 5, 7 and 12 belonged to villages other than Puang.

Unlike some anthropologists such as Professor

Turner,[1] I did not happen to have a 'key informant' who was highly outstanding and very unusually gifted. My informants were all men, it being impossible, of course, for me to have women informants.

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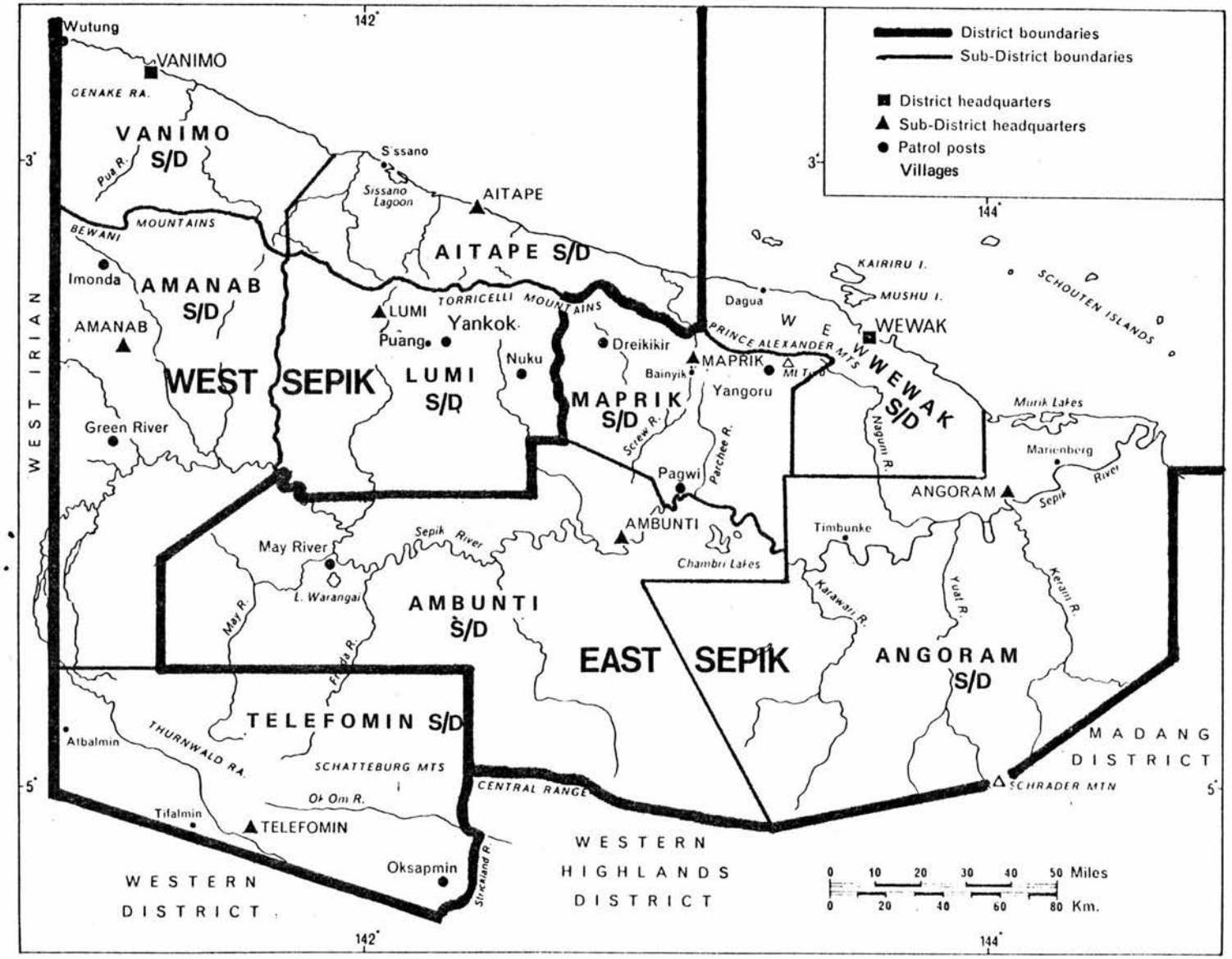
1. V.W. Turner, 'Muchona the Hornet, Interpreter of Religion', in In the Company of Man, ed. by J.B. Casagrande, New York, 1960.

PART I

NATURE, MATERIAL CULTURE, AND ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE



MAP 1 : EAST AND WEST SEPIK DISTRICTS

CHAPTER TWO

T H E L O C A L E A N D T H E P E O P L E

Puang is situated in the Lumi Sub-District, the West Sepik District, and is some 35 miles inland from Aitape on the north coast of New Guinea. It lies 17 miles southeast of the Sub-District Headquarters Station at Lumi, and is near a vehicular road which passes by the Lumi Station and the Patrol Posts at Yankok and Nuku.[1] Puang is a village or, if it is preferred, a 'parish',[2] consisting of six hamlets and having a population of 454 (in August 1973 on my counting).

The term 'Puang' is used as the name of the village by both the Australian Administration and the local people, and is also the name of one of the hamlets of the village. Since 1967 the Administration has joined Puang and an adjacent village, Witikin, for administrative purposes, but what is meant by Puang in the present study is the village by itself.

The Administration, and other Europeans, sometimes refer to Puang as 'Buang', and this is due to the fact that the village people do not prounounce the letters 'p'

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1. Seventeen miles is the distance between Puang and Lumi by the vehicular road. The building of this road began in 1957.
2. I. Hogbin, 'Anthropological Definitions', in Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, ed. P. Ryan, Melbourne University Press, 1972, Vol.1, p.25.

and 'b' distinctly.[1] Here the name of the village is spelled with 'p' as this is the usual spelling and has been accepted in linguistic research.[2] The term 'Buang' has also the incidental ethnographic disadvantage of possibly causing confusion of the people under study with another people of this name in the Snake Valley, the Marabe District.

The Puang people, like most New Guineans, are not as dark-skinned as the Australian Aborigines. In a limited number of cases they have, as will be seen, Malayan features, such as light brown skin and slant eyes. The Puang are rather small and slight. The average height and weight of an adult male are 60 inches and 125 lbs respectively, and those of an adult female 57 inches and 97 lbs.[3] Their local language has no indigenous name and this is usually the case with local languages in the Sub-District. These languages have been named by the Administration, and later in linguistic

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1. Cf. D.C. Laycock, 'Languages of the Lumi Subdistrict (West Sepik District) New Guinea', in Oceanic Linguistics, 1968, Vol.VII, No.1, p.50.
2. See for example Ibid., p.41.
3. R.J. Sturt, 'The Disease Pattern in the Central Sepik Region of New Guinea', Anguganak Mission Hospital, roneographed and undated, p.1; R.J. Sturt and A.E. Sturt, 'Natality, Fertility and Marriage Status in a Sepik River Population of New Guinea', in Tropical and Geographical Medicine, 1974, Vol.26, p.400.

research, in a simple manner, that is, usually by the word for 'no' in the language concerned. Hence the language spoken in Puang is called Au, a word meaning 'no' in this language. The Puang refer to their language by the word Au now and are aware that, as in the case of this name, the names recently given to many other languages in the area literally mean 'no'.

According to the latest linguistic research,[1] Au belongs to a large group of languages called 'Torricelli Phylum' and mainly widespread in the Torricelli Mountains area, West and East Sepik Districts. This linguistic phylum is divided into seven stocks and 13 families. The Wapei family, which is the largest family in the Lumi Sub-District and in the phylum, consists of 12 languages one of which is Au.

There are 19 Au-speaking villages, with a total population of 4098 (in 1972) and located in the Au West and the Au East Census Divisions. Out of 4098, 3025 live in 14 villages, including Puang, in the Au West, and 1073 in five villages in the Au East. The two Census-Divisions cover a total of approximately 356 miles (Au

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1. D.C. Laycock, Sepik Languages, Checklist and Preliminary Classification, Pacific Linguistics, Series B, No.25, the Linguistic Circle of Canberra, the Australian National University, 1973; D.C. Laycock, 'The Torricelli Phylum', in New Guinea Area Language Study, Vol.1, Papuan Languages and the New Guinea Linguistic Scene, ed. by S.A. Wurm, same publisher, 1975.

West: 216; Au East: 140), with, in 1972, a total population of 9710 (Au West: 4698; Au East: 5012).[1] They include villages in which other languages, namely, Alu, Elkei, Gnau, Ningil and Yil are spoken. These languages belong to the same family as Au but, by the number of speakers and villages, none of them is as widespread as Au (see Maps Nos. 2 and 3).

As will be discussed later, each Au village, such as Puang, is traditionally an autonomous and stateless unit and is divided into exogamous patrilineal 'clans', with the residential rule being virilocal. The present study is primarily a study of Puang society as my field-work was carried out almost entirely in Puang. It could, however, be said, with some caution, that this study will also portray Au people in general. As far as my inquiries about, and direct observation of, other Au villages show, Puang is a typical Au village. To be more precise, with regard to the social structure and belief systems examined here, Puang does not seem to differ from other Au villages in any significant way. In this connection, the differences which I could detect will be described whenever appropriate.

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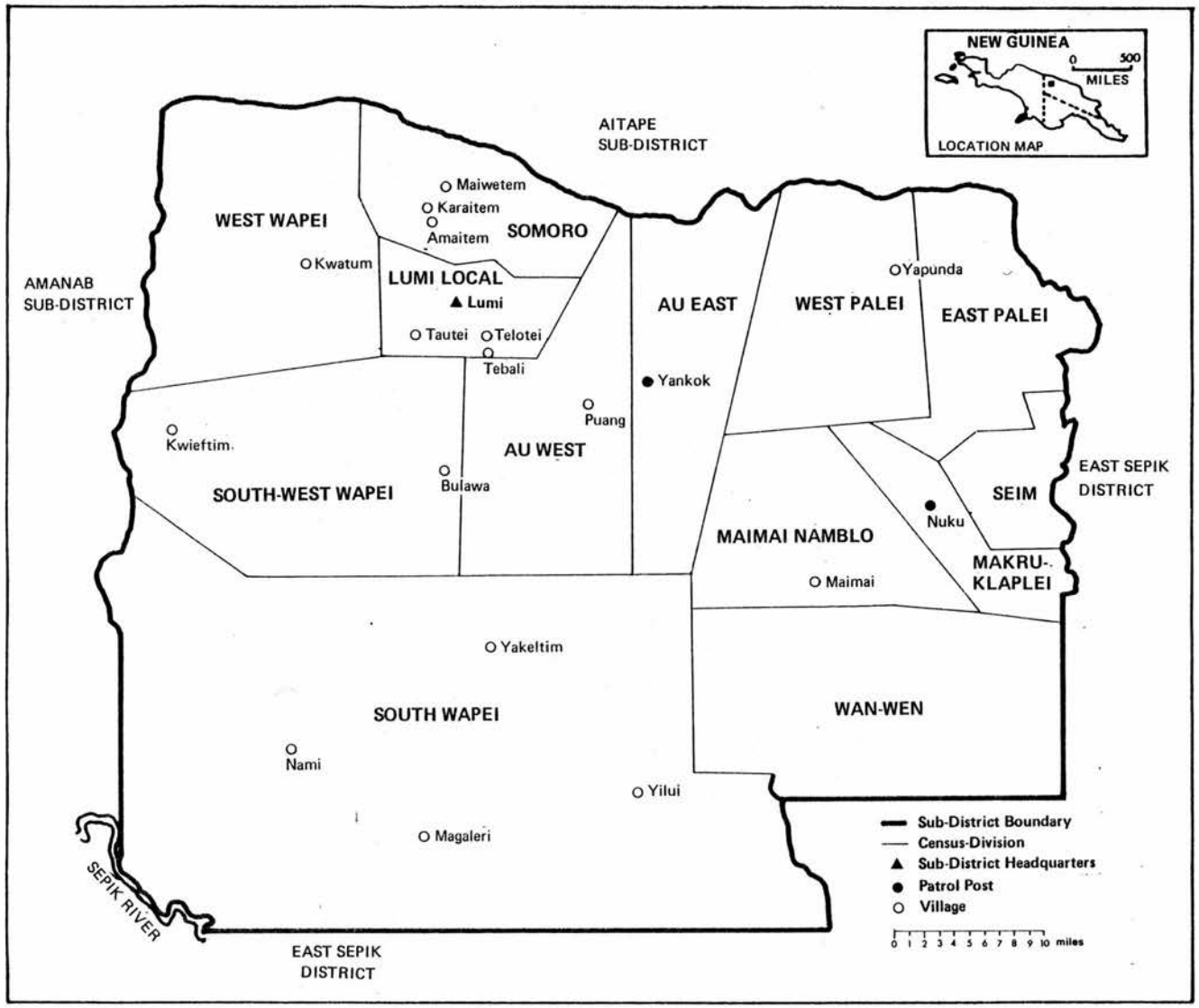
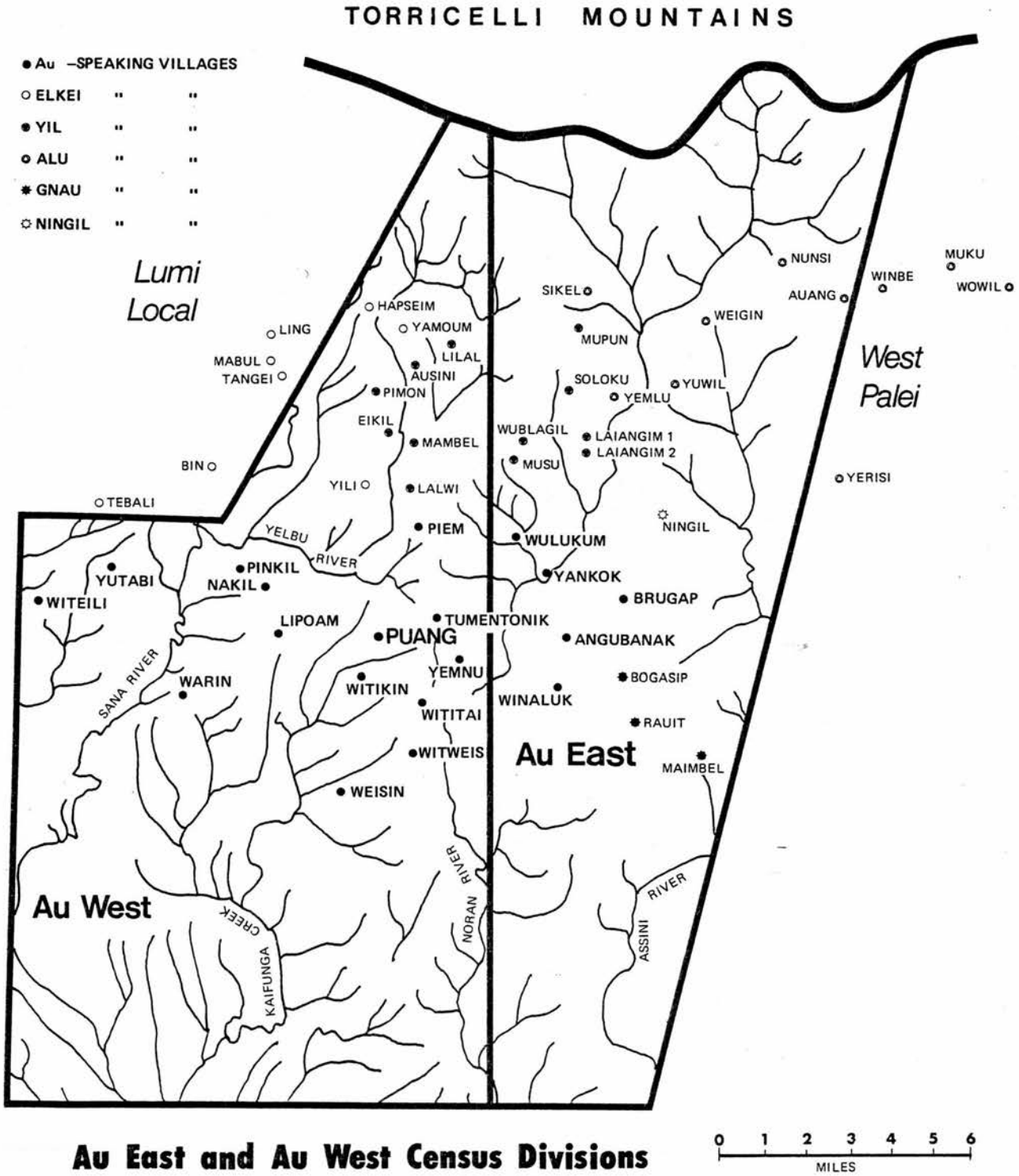
1. The above figures and those in the following table are partly extracted from Patrol Reports in Lumi and Yankok Stations.



MAP 2 : THE LUMI SUB--DISTRICT (Census Divisions)



Au East and Au West Census Divisions

MAP 3 :

It would be relevant to add that four informants of mine, mentioned earlier in the list of my main informants, were from villages other than Puang. Informants Nos. 4, 5 and 7 came from Tumentonik, a neighbouring village, and No. 12 from Warin, a distant village.

I wish to explain here why I selected the West Sepik District in general and Puang in particular for my fieldwork. The type of anthropological issues relating to belief and thought in which I was interested required fieldwork in a primitive society not greatly affected by European contact - hence my going to Papua New Guinea which is said to be 'the last unknown'.[1] In Papua New Guinea, one of the districts which is less affected by cultural contact in its interior and less studied by anthropologists, is the West Sepik District. Until 1962 the West Sepik was the only district in which no intensive anthropological fieldwork had yet been carried out.[2] Since then several projects have been undertaken in the West Sepik but the result of this research was still substantially unpublished at the time of my fieldwork.

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1. G. Souter, New Guinea, The Last Unknown, 1964, Angus and Robertson, London.
2. R. Bulmer, 'Intensive Ethnographic Studies', in An Atlas of Papua and New Guinea, ed. by R.G. Ward and D.A.M. Lea, University of Papua and New Guinea, 1970, pp.93-96.

I selected the Au people for study as I was determined that I should take for study a people whose language has been, at least partly, investigated. It would not seem to be possible, in the limited period of anthropological fieldwork, for an average fieldworker to learn a totally unknown language and to collect sufficiently reliable data on the intricacies of alien systems of belief and thought. I was fortunate to find that the Au language had been, as mentioned earlier, partly studied.[1]

Among the Au villages I chose Puang basically for the following reasons. Firstly, Puang was the first village in which I was welcomed by the people to stay there. A people's welcome is, needless to say, important for a researcher's fieldwork. I ought to add, however, that I would have been so received in many other Au villages if I had not, by mistake, passed through them often at a time of day when the majority of the people had left their village to work in the forest. Secondly, with regard to my fieldwork, Puang had a

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1. This does not, however, mean that I did not need to do a substantial amount of new work on the language throughout the fieldwork. The above linguistic study, which was primarily on the grammar and included a very limited list of words, was enough only in the initial stage of the fieldwork. At least 90% of the words and expressions defined and discussed in the thesis are my own findings, being recorded for the first time.

linguistic advantage over many other Au villages: the dialect spoken in Puang was the one on which the above linguistic study had been done. Thirdly, in contrast to other Au villages, I happened to like Puang and its scenery at first sight, and this fact could help, no doubt, to make a two-year long fieldwork more congenial and productive.

Puang had a disadvantage as its hamlets are scattered more than what is usually the case with the Au villages. It takes half-an-hour to walk from one end of the village to the other. The disadvantage was, however, compensated for by the fact that, with regard to population and the number of hamlets, Puang is a very large village (see Table 1), and that the Nikis hamlet in which I stayed is, by population (91 persons), one of the largest Puang hamlets.

TABLE 1 : Population and Age Distribution of Au Villages in 1972

Names of Villages	Child (under 15 yrs) M.	F.	Adult M.	F.	Total
Puang	71	83	163	133	450
Witikin	40	36	61	60	197
Tumentonik	36	41	63	53	193
Yemnu	106	103	151	140	500
Piem	45	26	52	43	166
Lipoam	44	46	93	73	256
Nakil	34	33	56	52	175
Pinkil	30	24	33	32	119
Wititai	46	55	76	65	242
Witweis & Weisin	64	74	137	119	394
Warin	27	39	75	42	183
Witeili	14	15	23	13	65
Yutabi	25	15	26	19	85
Anguganak	49	65	68	59	241
Brugap	49	57	92	80	278
Winaluk	30	20	39	41	130
Wulukum	52	50	75	74	251
Yankok	33	26	65	49	173
Grand Total	795	808	1348	1147	4098
Average	41	42	70	60	215
Percentage	19.3	19.7	32.8	27.9	

CHAPTER THREE

THE ENVIRONMENT AND SETTLEMENTS

The northern coastal ranges of New Guinea, in the West and East Sepik Districts, consist, from west to east, of the Bewani, Torricelli, and Prince Alexander Mountains. The Torricelli Mountains mainly coincide with the northern limit of the Lumi Sub-District, where the peaks are between 3,500 and 6,100 feet high. In the Sub-District, south of this mountainous and hardly populated zone, lies a lower zone, where ridges and valleys are flanked by foothills. The foothill zone, from 10 to 15 miles in width, is, relatively speaking, highly populated and its ridges are not more than 2,500 feet high.[1]

The area in which Au villages are scattered is situated in this heavily forested foothill zone. Au villages, like Puang, are all placed on steep-sided ridges. The four main rivers in the Au area are Yeblu (A. Marara), Nopan, Sana, and Kaifungu Creek, none of which is suitable for navigation. The area also contains many smaller rivers, streams, springs, and ponds.

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1. Cf. O.C. Fountain, Wulukum: Land, Livelihood and Change in a New Guinea Village, M.A. thesis in geography (typescript), Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand, 1966, p.5. This work has also been of benefit to me in understanding the geographical aspect of the Au area in general.

One of the smaller rivers is Kikir, which is near the Yelbu River and flows below the hilltop site of the Nikis hamlet in Puang.[1] The Kaifungu Creek joins the Yula River in the South Wapei Census-Division, and finally flows into the Sepik River. The Sepik River, after which the two Sepik Districts are named and which is the largest river in Papua New Guinea and mainly navigable, is far from the Au area. The Sub-District is bordered by this river merely in part of its south-west. The waters of the area do not abound with fish, and its fish are usually small. The Puang distinguish at least 20 varieties of fish, a few of which are as follows:

1. Hanawak (A.; L. Chanos chanos; E. milkfish).
2. Mankat (A.; L. Rhonobatos Batillum; E. shovelnose-ray).
3. Napik (A.; L. Symbranchus bengalensis; E. one-gilled eel).
4. Per (A.; L. Holocenteus candimaculatus; E. squirrelfish).

The Au area is very close to the equator, Puang being located approximately at 3°55 latitude and 142°20 longitude. Rainfall, humidity, and especially temperature are not, however, so continuously high as is often assumed

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1. 'Kikir' (A.) is a kinship term, meaning 'younger sister' (used by the elder sister). The Kikir River is likened to a younger sister in relation to the Yelbu River.

to be the case in the tropics. Climate and weather in the area are partly determined by such factors as altitude. Puang is at an altitude of 1,100 feet or so, 1,000 being approximately the average altitude of an Au village.

The year is divided into the wet season (November to March) and the dry season. These seasons correspond to, and are largely determined by, the periods in which two-wind systems prevail, that is, the south-east trade and the north-west monsoon respectively. The dry season is not fully dry but only not so wet as the wet season; and has, according to the Anguganak recording in 1964, 36.3% of the annual rain.[1] The average annual rainfall is 101 inches at Lumi,[2] and in 1964 it was 72.5 inches at Anguganak.[3] Falls of rain are usually intense and brief, and most often in afternoon and night rather than morning.

In the Au area, as a result of the proximity to the equator, the length of day is nearly the same, varying about half an hour during the year. The twilight is brief and the change from day to night, or from full light to full darkness, is very rapid. The duration of day and of daily sunshine is long, although cloudiness

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1. O.C. Fountain, 1966, op.cit., p.23.
2. D.A.M. Lea, 'Sepik Districts, East and West', in Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.2, p.1033.
3. O.C. Fountain, 1966, op.cit., p.24.

is frequent, reducing the actual amount of bright sunshine.

The temperature does not reach as high as 100°F which occurs commonly in Australia, and is almost uniform during the course of the year. The temperature and relative humidity of an Au village, Wulukum, is estimated to be as follows:[1] The average annual temperature varies only up to 5°F. The variation of the diurnal temperature is more than that. The daytime temperature reaches between 80° and 90°F., and gets much cooler in the night-time, that is, dropping to between 60° and 70°F. The relative humidity is rather high in both seasons and, following a daily pattern, rapidly falls in the morning (rarely as low as 40-50%), gradually rises in the afternoon, and reaches its peak at night, when fogs are common.

Having briefly described the topography and the climate of the Au area, we may now pass on to other aspects of the physical environment, its flora and fauna and the man-made changes in them. The environment of each Au village may be divided into, and characterized by, five parts: 1. the village site; 2. garden sites; 3. sago palm stands; 4. the secondary forest; and 5. the primary forest. The village site is surrounded

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1. O.C. Fountain, 1966, op.cit., pp.23-24.

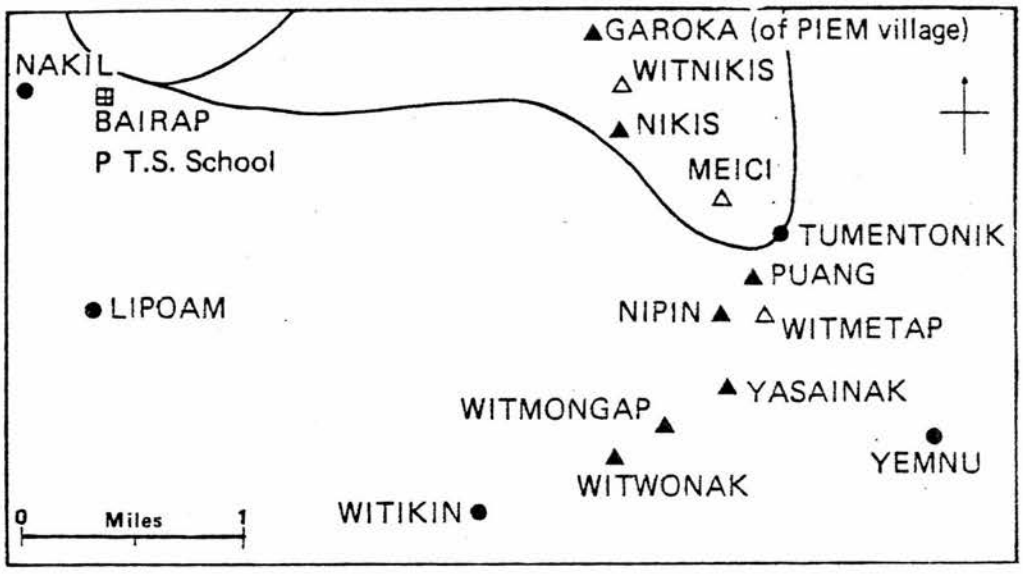
by garden sites, sago palm stands, and the secondary forest, the three of which are intermixed and in turn, generally speaking, surrounded by the primary forest. The first four parts are partly shaped by man's impact on the environment. The description of the five parts is briefly as follows:

1. The Village Site

A village site is situated on ridges or hill-tops and consists of two to several hamlets. The distance between adjacent hamlets is often not more than a few hundred yards, and occasionally a considerable stretch of bushes and hills up to one or two miles. A hamlet is a more or less cleared and almost level piece of ground, with a number of rectangular houses having gabled and overhanging roofs. For example, the Nikis hamlet, which is a large hamlet, is some 300 sq.m. and has 20 houses of this kind (see plans 4 and 5).

Houses are mainly made of sago palm stems and roofed with sago thatch. In a hamlet, the majority of houses are domestic ones (A. wunaak). Each domestic house belongs to a nuclear, and occasionally extended, family, where its members eat and its women cook and sleep with children. Other houses include one or two unwalled shelter-houses (A. hanku), in which, protected from the rain and the sun, men, women and children may

Plan 4 (approximate) **Puang Hamlets**



Puang: Name of the village and one of its hamlets

▲ Present hamlets

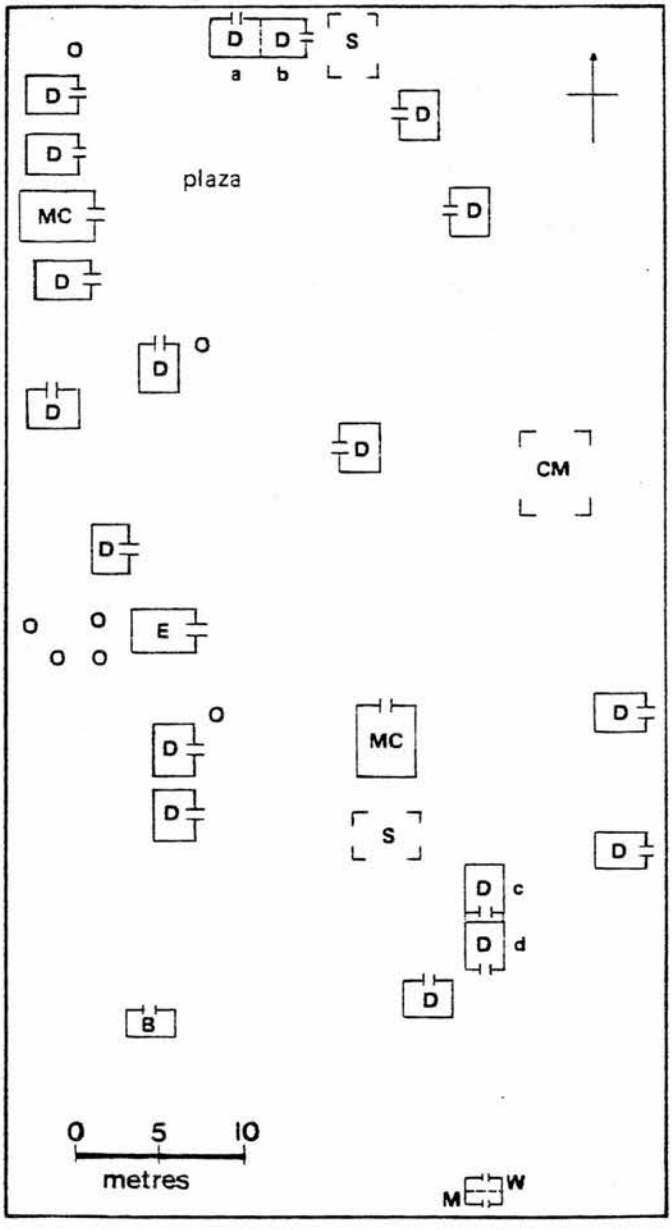
△ Past hamlets

● Villages

— Vehicular road

⊞ Government primary (T) school

Plan 5 (approximate) **Houses in a Puang Hamlet (Nikis)**



=	Door of house
⌜ ⌝	Unwalled house
D	Domestic house
S	Shelter-house
MC	Men's ceremonial house
B	House for childbirth
M	Men's Latrine (not traditional)
W	Women's " (" ")
CM	Catholic mission-school (rarely used)
a & b	Divided by a wall; **b** is for a man, his W, Cs and widowed F; **a** is for the man's S and S's newly-wed W
c & d	Have the same roof, and are for two married B's
O	Location of recent burials
E	Ethnographer's house

gather, rest, and talk. There could also be a small and simple house for childbirth, though a woman may also give birth to a child in a section (A. haaw pasuk) of the domestic house which is allocated for this purpose.[1] The largest houses of a hamlet are one or two men's ceremonial houses (A. pak), where men usually go to sleep, in single beds (A. yenu) made of sago palm stems. The central post of a ceremonial house is made of ironwood and is closely connected with clan-bound hunting spirits (A. witipir). It is taboo for women to enter, and especially, sit in the house, lest the post becomes ritually 'cold' and consequently men fail in hunting.

The ground of a hamlet is not made perfectly level and is not divided into parts exclusively occupied by the members of particular clans or lineages. As far as location and direction are concerned, houses are made irregularly. Doors may be opposite or parallel to each other, or face away from the hamlet. There is, however, a plaza, often in each hamlet and always in each village, especially for the purpose of holding a large variety of collective singing and dancing, namely, Singing Rituals (P.E. singsing; A. hanya).

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1. The rest of the domestic house is called haaw yaaik (A.), meaning the 'good' or the 'pure' section.

Sometimes a person is buried in his hamlet, near his domestic house, but the burial site is completely unmarked and not distingished from its surroundings. The inside and the surroundings of the hamlet site, with the exception of the plaza and the small area round each house, are not fully cleared of grass. This was especially true in the past, when the grass was sometimes allowed to grow so high that the enemy could hide in it and make a sudden attack with bows and arrows or perform destructive magic secretly. The hamlet sites of a village, however, used to be doubly fenced with bamboo, whenever it was felt that the people of an enemy village were planning to make a raid into the hamlets.

The village site and its hamlets include, and are bordered by, plants grown by the people. These plants are particularly:

1. Coconut palm (L. Cocos nucifera; P.E. Kokonas; A. wâ), which is invariably a characteristic of every hamlet.
2. Breadfruit (L. Artocarpus altilis; P.E. Kapiak; A. tapir), a tree with edible fruit.
3. Pandanus (L.; P.E. aran; A. yiwir), a tree with edible fruit.
4. Tulip (P.E.; L. Gnetum gnemon; A. taruwâ), a tree with edible green leaves,[1] and fruit used as nut.

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1. The term 'tulip' derives from 'two-leaf': the tree has paired leaves.

5. Betel nut (L. Areca catechu; P.E. buai; A. mas), a tree the nuts of which are chewed with betel pepper (L. Piper Betle; P.E. daka; A. tabe) and lime (P.E. kambang; A. ta).

There are also some low-growing plants, such as:

1. Tangket (P.E.; L. Cordyline terminalis; A. yurik), a shrub whose colourful leaves are used in ritual and for decoration.
2. A few varieties of 'wild taro' (P.E. wail taro), such as napok Weimanu (A.) and napok Ureiku (A.), which are associated with hunting-spirits and planted for ritual purposes.
3. Semi (A.; L. Zingiberaceae), a scented herb used in ritual, including love-magic.
4. A creeper (L. ? Derris Spp., A. yuwaap), which is used for suicide and poisoning fish in fishing, and is also found in the forest.

In and around a village site, house-rats are common, and lizards are sometimes found. Ground-living marsupials and certain species of bird may be shot in the vicinity. Flying foxes frequent fruiting trees in part of the dry season. The animals kept in a village are dogs, domesticated pigs, and chickens.

2. Garden Sites

Since Au people practise shifting cultivation, the sites used for gardening are not the same year after year. A garden has a life of no more than two years, after which a new site is selected and the previous site

is left uncultivated for many years. Gardens are not, however, scattered in the forest at random. They are usually made in specific parts of the secondary forest, such as easy slopes near hill-tops and limited flat land near rivers and streams. To make a garden the selected site has to be cleared at first, and this means slashing the undergrowth, felling trees, and burning the cut material. Weeding is also done from time to time later.

The plants grown in a garden are as follows:

1. Taro (L. Colocasia asculenta; P.E. taro; A. tahat napok), which is, like the following two plants, a tropical root crop and grown for its edible starchy tuberous rootstocks. Another species of taro (L. Xanthosoma spp.; P.E. taro kongkong; A. weisan), has been introduced into the Au area since a few decades ago.
2. Yam (L. Dioscorea alata; P.E. yam; A. tahat kemâtin).
3. Mami (P.E.; L. Dioscorea esculenta; A. tahat megesi), which is, as can be seen, a species of yam, with no English name.
4. Banana (L. Musa acuminata, Musa balbisiana and their hybrids; P.E. banana; A. tuei).
5. Tulip (described earlier).
6. Sugar cane (L. Saccharum officinarum; P.E. suga; A. yinpe).
7. Pitpit (P.E.; L. Saccharum edule; A. nimen), a tall cane-grass which is one of the species of sugar cane, and is grown for its inflorescence.

8. Aipika (P.E.; L. Abelmoschus maniket; A. nanikat), a shrub the leaves of which are used as a green vegetable.
9. Aupa (P.E.; L. Amaranthus gangeticus; A. namir), which is the local spinach.
10. Winged bean (L. Psophocarpus tetragonolobus; P.E. bin; A. manip), used as a green vegetable.
11. Tobacco (L. Nicotiana tabacum; P.E. brus; A. sauka), whose cured leaves are used for smoking.

A garden may also include other plants such as:

1. Gingir root (A. nekip), which is used with food and in ritual, and also planted in the secondary forest.
2. Hena (A.; P.E. wail limbum),[1] from which bows and part of some arrows are made. Hena is sometimes planted near the village site and also grows by itself in the forest.[2]

A garden is usually looked after, and mainly made by, a husband and wife. The average size of a garden, belonging to a nuclear family, is some 700 sq.m.[3] At the side of the garden, the husband builds a gārden-house (A. wisaak) as a shelter, where he, his wife, children, and dog may occasionally stay for a few days and nights without returning to the village.

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1. The term 'limbum' or 'wail limbum' is used for at least 10 different types of tree. See the present thesis, p.579.
2. Hena is associated with a spirit in the Tumentonik village.
3. The figure is based on measuring five garden plots of this kind which appeared to be of an average size.

Gardens attract some animals and birds which may damage garden crops or be hunted. Wild pigs may get into the garden and eat or ruin yams, taro, and pitpit. Hence a garden is sometimes fenced with bamboo. It is for the same reason that gardens are not usually made very close to the village site lest crops should be damaged by domesticated pigs. Bandicoots may be found in the garden plot. Wallabies may come to eat aipika. Birds, such as parrots, lories, and birds-of-paradise may come to eat fruits especially bananas. Birds-of-paradise may also build their nests close to gardens.

3. Sago Palm Stands

Sago palms grow or are planted in damp ground; and when mature - and this takes many years - a huge flower rises on the top of the palm. A sago palm is felled just before or in the early stage of flowering to extract sago flour, an essential item in the daily diet. The Puang distinguish at least ten varieties of sago palms.

As geographical research indicates, sago palms seem to have been introduced by the local people into the area sometime in the past. Naturally the palms grow in shallow fresh water swamps and form long and dense stands. But in the Au area natural swampy land is lacking and the palms are either in isolated spots or in small stands.[1]

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1. O.C. Fountain, 1966, pp.7, 25, 30. Regarding another area, a similar point, based on local people's (cont.)

Edible mushrooms or club-fungi (L. Basidiomycetes; P.E. talinga; A. tenaa) grow near felled sago palms out of the waste pith (A. tiu), that is, a loose fibrous material which is inedible and is the residue of processing sago. Bandicoots are frequently hunted near a felled palm as they are in the habit of eating the waste pith. A type of 'wild taro' (P.E. wail taro) with red leaves, namely, napok wasuik (A.), is sometimes planted near a palm in order to be used as a remedy for an illness attributed to the palm: the leaves are heated over a fire and rubbed on the body of a man (the palm is not believed to sicken women) who has weakened so much that he is unable to stand up and walk.[1] There is a grub (A. naank) which grows on part of the felled trunk and is an item in the diet throughout the year. A pig-trap may be made near a palm, as pigs eat sago as well as part of a plant called yinmapik (A.). This plant is associated with certain hunting-spirits and grows near the palm.

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1. (continued from the previous page) statements, is made in J. Barrau, 'The Sago Palms and Other Food Plants of Marsh Dwellers in the South Pacific Islands', in Economic Botany, 1956, vol.13. It is worthy of note here that, according to a major Puang myth, sago palms were lacking, or rare, in the area at first and were introduced by a land-spirit (A. Tipir), who was also a mother's brother, later.

1. The same taro may be planted near a coconut palm and used when that palm is believed to be the cause of the illness.

4. The Secondary Forest

Tropical soils are not, contrary to the layman's impression, usually very fertile. Dense forests grow in the tropics because of sufficient moisture and heat, but not the high fertility of soils. Au soils are relatively more fertile, as they are geologically young and still subject to geological uplift or soil erosion. Nevertheless, Au soils are very leached or 'skeletal' (i.e. thin and steep); and consequently, in the area, the practice of shifting cultivation is a necessity, particularly in the absence of fertilizers and irrigation. In this type of cultivation the long fallow period allows the ground to rest and get its fertility back by reverting to forest and natural vegetation.

The secondary forest, also called 'second growth', is a type of forest vegetation which has resulted from shifting cultivation; that is, it has developed on previously cultivated garden sites. By appearance, the secondary forest is distinguishable from the primary or 'virgin' forest in that, firstly, the average dimensions of trees in the former are smaller than those in the latter. Secondly, the former is often, due to the abundance of low vegetation, more dense and more difficult to penetrate than the interior of the latter. Thirdly, as far as hard timber and the number of tree species are concerned, the latter is by far richer than the former.

In the secondary forest, plants are partly unnatural, cultivated by the people for their usefulness. Some plants are grown for their food value, in particular:

1. Breadfruit (described earlier).
2. Betel nut (described earlier).
3. Ton (P.E.; L. Pometia pinnata; A. henaan), the large fruit of which has an edible seed pulp. The wild form of this tree, growing in the primary forest, has a smaller fruit and a smaller pulp.
4. Galip (P.E.; L. Canarium indicum; A. hamis), a tree which has edible nuts, and also grows by itself in the primary forest.
5. Galip (P.E.; A. nemâon), a tree with edible nuts, and of a species related to the above galip tree.
6. Ficus (L.; P.E. Kumu; A. nuaina), a tree with edible green leaves.

Some plants are grown for purposes other than food, such as:

1. Large bamboo (L.? Bambusa vulgaris; P.E. mambu; A. haurak), which also grows wild and is used as the water vessel, a container of sago flour, a cooking pot, part of some arrows, and so forth.
2. Reed (L.? Phragmites kara; A. niuk) which forms the shafts of all arrows.

The uncultivated plants include:

1. Areca palm (P.E. limbum; A. hausa), the flower of which is used as a plate (especially for serving sago-jelly), a bed (by women and children), a basket, and a wrapper. The strings (A. pirik)

made from the palm are used in fastening certain arrows and magic bundles. The palm also grows wild in the primary forest.

2. Mangas (P.E.; L. Hibiscus Tileaceus; A. hanpan), a tree, the bark fibres of which are commonly used as a rope (A. hanpan) to fasten many things, such as limbum baskets, firewood, and bamboo tubes.

The secondary forest is also a source of animal food, including frogs, snakes, lizards, and grasshoppers, of which the Puang distinguish at least 19, 23, 24, 22 varieties respectively. Animals and birds are often hunted through their well-known associations with certain plants: wild pigs may come to eat the fruit of the woki (A.) tree and of a creeper (or vine) called weinami (A.). Wallabies and flying foxes are in the habit of eating the fruit of breadfruit trees; wallabies also eat the fruit of the hiwâ (A.) tree. Certain birds are fond of the fruit of the hereni (A.) tree and of a vine called waai nibounik (A.).

The association of edible insects with certain plants is common knowledge: the breadfruit tree and a variety of wild limbum (P.E.; A. hirip) may have edible insects and large bamboos may contain grasshoppers. The insect called meirun (A.) eats the leaves of the breadfruit tree and those of the trees named tip (A.), tepen (A.), and wuris (A.). The insect remains on the leaves at night

and hides in holes in the ground during the day. Some insects are not edible but useful for other purposes, such as yimur (A.) being used in magic, sak pankaura (A.) in making arrows, and terhin (A.) for both purposes.

5. The Primary Forest

The primary forest, which is an entirely natural or uncultivated vegetation, is a type of forest known as tropical lowland rain forest, and regarded as the most extensive form of vegetation in Papua New Guinea. The primary forest is a well-structured ecosystem, consisting of five vegetation strata although the strata and their distinctiveness can hardly be observed - the forest looking seemingly chaotic to a person standing inside or outside it. The three upper strata are composed of trees reaching heights above 100, 50, and 20 feet respectively. The top stratum trees form a canopy and have sometimes umbrella-shaped crowns. The two lower strata are the shrub and the ground layers. The latter being composed of herbs, ferns, mosses, and the seedlings of the trees.

The forest is further characterized by its plants being nearly all evergreen, its trees having sometimes 'buttressed trunks' or 'stilt roots', and by containing numerous woody climbing plants (lianes) and parasitic shrubs and herbs (epiphytes). Walking through the forest is, unlike some nearly impenetrable jungles, relatively easy and its interior is damp, cool and windless with

usually a small degree of sunlight penetrating the canopy.

For the Puang the primary forest is chiefly a hunting ground but it is also useful for some of its plants. Some examples of its innumerable trees and a few of their uses are given below:

1. Ton (described earlier), a top stratum and buttressed tree.
2. Tulip (described earlier), an upper stratum tree.
3. Galip (L. Canarium indicum), a top stratum and buttressed tree.
4. Pandanus (described earlier), with stilt roots.
5. Erima (P.E.; L. Octomeles sumatrana; A. Tâwul), buttressed and found in both primary and secondary forests. This tree is associated with a hunting-spirit.
6. New Guinea walnut (L. Dracontomelum mangiferum; P.E. mon; A. wapen), buttressed with edible fruit. Shields are made from this tree, which has also an association with hunting-spirits in general.
7. Ironwood (L. Intsia bijuga; P.E. Kwila; A. Tainik) is hard and unharmed by insects. The central post of men's ceremonial house, which has a direct and important association with hunting-spirits, is made from this tree. The post is also called tainik.
8. Garamut (P.E.; L. Vitex cofassus; A. token) is hard and unharmed by insects. The large signal drum, namely, slit-gong (P.E. garamut; A. token) and the wooden food bowl (P.E. sospen; A. sar) are made from this tree.

9. Rosewood (L. Pterocarpus indicus; P.E. nar; A. Manek), found in both primary and secondary forests. This tree, like another tree called halon (A.), is believed to have a curing effect on breathlessness caused by respiratory diseases.

The Au area, especially its primary forest, is highly rich in flora but has rather limited fauna, in particular, mammals. It is, unlike the jungle of popular imagination, devoid of many mammals, such as monkeys, tigers, and elephants. Its mammals, apart from pigs (wild and domesticated) and dogs, are chiefly of three kinds: bats such as the flying fox (P.E. blak boxis; A. parpara), rodents such as the house-rat (P.E. rat; A. wasiun) and finally and more significantly (in the social life of the people), marsupials (P.E. kapul and mumut; A. miak). Marsupials comprise a large variety of bandicoots, cuscuses, opossums, wallabies and tree-climbing kangaroos;[1] and the Puang classify them into at least 21 species. To give a few examples of marsupials:

1. The spotted cuscus (L. phalanger maculatus; A. waipen), feeds on plants and is found mainly in the primary forest.
2. The long-fingered opossum (L. Dactylonax palpator; A. wiru), feeds on insects and is arboreal.
3. Tree-climbing kangaroo (L. Dendrolagus matschiei; A. yiik), very large and rare.

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1. The large and Australian-type kangaroo is absent.

The Au area is richer in reptile fauna, such as lizards, monitors, skinks, geckos, and snakes, than mammals. Tortoises, such as siebenrock's snake-neck tortoise (L. Chelodina siebenrocki; A. wuken), are very limited in number. A small number of snakes are venomous, such as the small-eyed snake (L. Micropechis ikaheka; A. manpan siurp). But deadly snake bite is extremely rare and did not occur in Puang during the field-work.

Bird life in the area is highly varied and colourful. Birds, like animals, are significant for the rôles they play in the diet, gift-exchanges, rituals, beliefs, and myths. In this respect the most important birds are the birds-of-paradise, or rather one of their species, the lesser bird-of-paradise, and the cassowary, an emu-like bird which is the largest bird in Papua New Guinea.

Since the area is well-forested and mountainous, birds are mainly land birds and include parrots, pigēons, cock-atoos, lories, 'wood' kingfishers, flycatchers, owls, eagles and the hornbill. Water birds, such as white egret (L. Egretta alba; P.E. wail pato; A. yiwen), are much less common. Moreover, birds are often associated with the forest, especially the primary forest; although this does not mean that many primary forest birds do not move into the secondary forest, or about gardens and village

sites, from time to time. The association of some birds with the primary forest is, to be more exact, with particular vegetation strata of this forest, as illustrated in the following table.

Table 2. BIRDS AND THE PRIMARY FOREST

Forest Strata	Birds
Canopy	1. Friar-bird *(L. Philemon spp.; A. belouken)* 2. Fruit-eating pigeon *(L. Ducula spp.; A. memanp)* 3. Fruit-eating pigeon *(L. Ducula spp.; A. tape)* 4. Wallace's green fruit dove *(L. Ptilinopus wallacii; A. yuwaan)* 5. Greater streaked lory *(L. Chalcopsitta scintillata; A. wunwuman)* 6. Riedel's eclectus parrot *(L. Lorius roratusriedeli; A. meraken)* 7. Two-eyed fig parrot *(L. Opopsitta diophthalma; A. tintin)* 8. White-crown Koel *(L. Caliechthrus leucolophus; A. Hiipik)* 9. White cockatoo *(L. Cacatua galerita triton; A. hiika)* 10. Hornbill *(L. Rhyticeros plicatus; P.E. kakamo; A. haam)*
Middle Strata	1. Fly-catcher *(L. Rhipidura spp.; A. sousik)* 2. Rusty pitohui *(L. Pitohui ferrugineus; A. wunuk)* 3. Numfor paradise kingfisher *(L. tanysiptera carolinae; A. suri)* 4. Pink-breasted paradise kingfisher *(L. tanysiptera nympha; A. suri)* 5. Hook-billed kingfisher *(L. Melidora macrorrhina; A. teverk)* 6. Shovel-billed kingfisher *(L. Clytoceyx rex; A. giurup sak)* 7. Rufuos-bellied Giant kingfisher *(L. Dacelogaudichaud; A. giurup)* 8. Lesser Bird of paradise *(L. Paradisaea minor; A. tīnousik)*
Ground	1. Crowned pigeon *(L. Goura spp.; P.E. guria; A. wunpen)* 2. Crowned pigeon *(L. Goura spp.; P.E. guria; A. wânem)* 3. Brush turkey *(L. Talegallus spp.; P.E. wail paul; A. wânp)* 4. Cassowary *(L. Casuarius spp.; P.E. muruk; A. wânkala)*

CHAPTER FOUR

F O O D P R O D U C T I O N

1. EXTENSIVE AGRICULTURE

Traditionally speaking,[1] Puang subsistence economy and material culture resemble the neolithic of Europe and Asia.[2] Food is, as a result of the domestication of some plants and animals, produced as well as being collected in its wild form. Metals are unknown, implements are made of polished stones, wood, and bones, and a limited degree of pottery and weaving is practised.

In Puang, the major forms of food production are shifting cultivation and sago production, both of which constitute the basis of Puang economy, supplemented by gathering, hunting and fishing. To begin with a brief description of shifting or slash-and-burn cultivation.

The preparation of a piece of land for planting consists of five tasks; the selection of a suitable site, slashing and clearing of the undergrowth, felling the trees, burning[3] the accumulated debris, and making the garden-house, of which the second and the fourth tasks are undertaken by both men and women, and the rest only

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1. The post-contact changes are discussed in chapter eight.
2. See for example V.G. Childe, 'The New Stone Age', in Man, Culture, and Society, ed. by H.L. Shapiro, Oxford University Press, 1971.
3. Traditionally fire was made by the frictional method, using stems of rattan against the trunk of a tree. Fire-making had a magical spell, unknown to more recent generations in the village.

by men. The preparation in question starts early in the dry season and is intensified in the later part of that season (July to August) so that cultivation is timed to catch sufficient rain.

Sometimes the trees to be felled are very large, such as hapam (A.). Slashing and felling are done with a stone-adze (see plate 1). Planting is done in the last two months of the dry season (September and October). Tillage is not deep and is carried out by a long-lasting digging stick (A. heha) taken from a tree with the same name. The digging stick is a rather heavy pointed stake about six feet long. The occasional weeding begins soon after planting and is, like planting and harvesting, done by both men and women. Harvesting, although it mainly begins early in the dry season, is continued throughout the year as garden plants take different periods of time to mature.

The annual cycle of gardening is, as we have seen, seasonally and climatically determined. One of the ways in which the Puang express this fact is in terms of the constellation of the Pleiads (A. sak nikim). When the Pleiades appear in the eastern sky and are observable not only at night but also early in the morning, it is the early dry season and the time for the first main harvest.

When the Pleiads rise up to the central sky it is time for planting. By the time planting is finished the wet season has started and the Pleiads have moved to the western sky. These stars will then disappear, remaining invisible until their re-appearance at the next harvest time.

Sago production may be described as follows. As mentioned earlier the sago palm seems to have been transplanted into the area by the local people; a point which suggests the local domestication of this plant. Apart from growing by itself, the palm is planted, by men, from either shoots or seedlings. In the course of its growth the only attention which the palm needs is the clearing of the bush vegetation encroaching upon it. When the palm is felled, by the stone adze, the bark of the upper part of the log is removed so that the pith of the palm is exposed for processing. The felling and the removal of the bark are usually carried out by men, especially if the palm is large, but the later tasks required for processing sago are undertaken by women. Sago processing is, indeed, a woman's major economic contribution as well as her routine daily work.[1]

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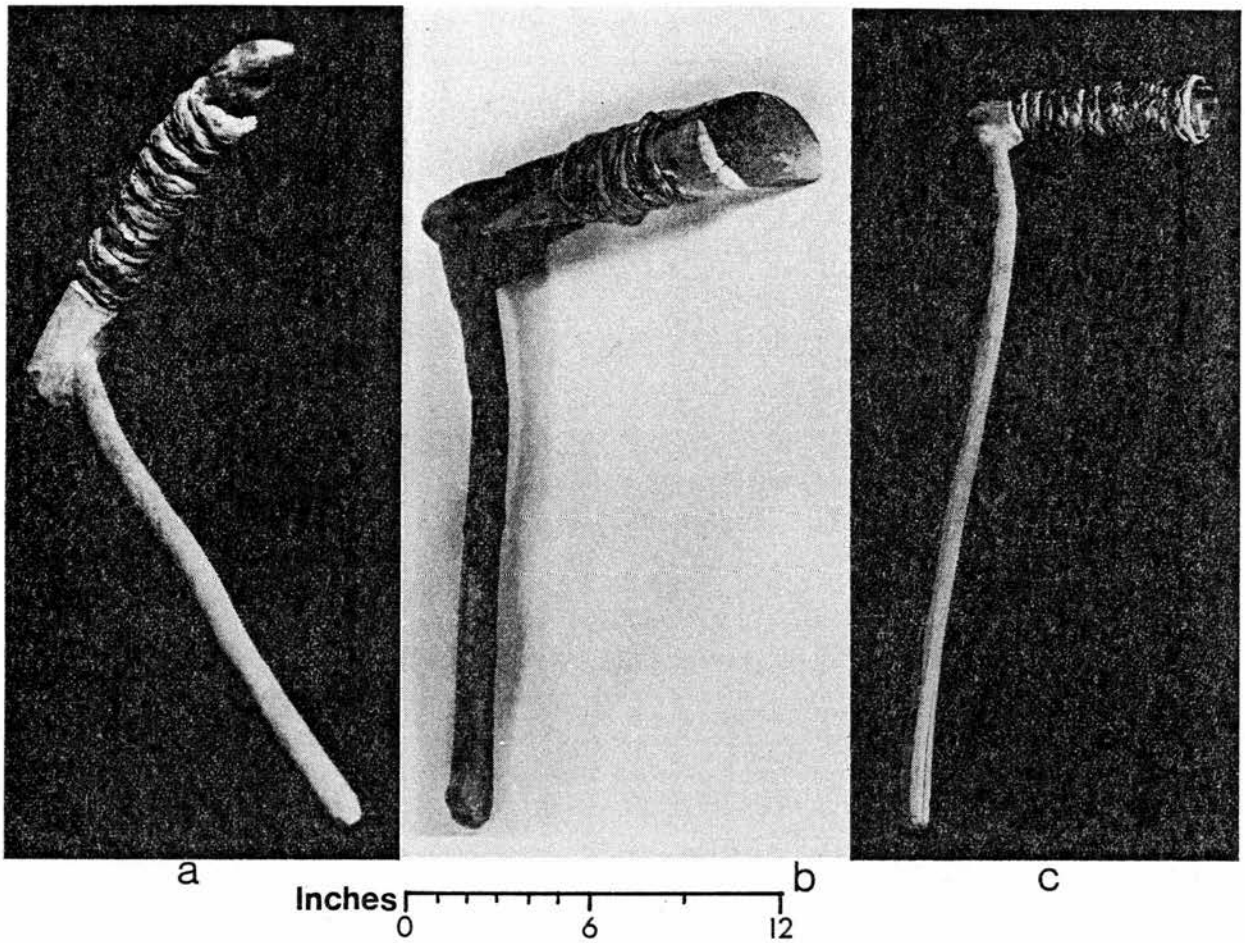
1. In one of Puang myths sago processing is done by men. Commenting on this myth, elderly men say that, in the remote past, the processing was in fact a man's work. At the present time, in some parts of the Sepik region the processing is, partly or wholly, (cont.)



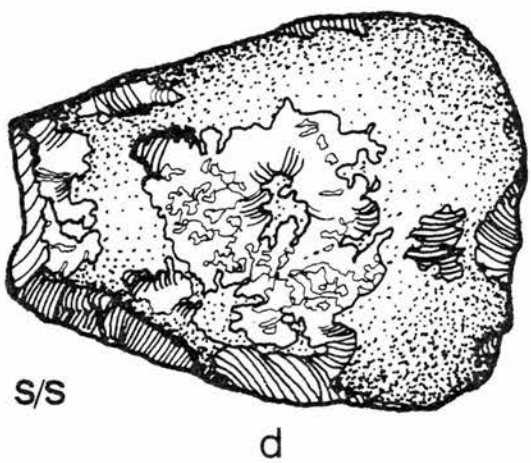


Plate 1. **Stone Adzes** (A. *hena paan*). The handle is made of a small branch, called *newik* (A.) and from a tree with the same name. The blade is bound with plaited rattan (A. *nepen*), and is held in its place by pieces of wood, called *pamik* (A.) and from a tree named *hanpik wakinkas* (A.).

The three blades are old; *a* and *d* are each almost half the size of *b*. Handles *a* and *c* are newly-made (for the present writer). Adzes *a* and *c* are used especially for slashing the undergrowth, felling small trees, cutting firewood and bamboo tubes; and adz *b* especially for cutting larger trees and the sago palm. Adz *b* is old, belonging to the village — Councillor's deed FF.

A woman sits on the prepared sago log and pounds the pith with a sago pounder (A. nekab), the up-and-down strokes of which can be heard from a distance. The pounded pith, which is like fibrous sawdust, is placed in the flower sheaths of the areca (P.E. limbum; A. tekâlup) turned into baskets. The pounding section of the sago pounder is a length of bamboo (A. hanmik) cut off just below the joint. The handle consists either of the same type of bamboo or of two identical pieces of wood (A. nawei), tied together and taken from a tree called marara (A.; P.E.? sapnil). The pounding section and the handle are fastened by rattan and are each some 18-20 inches long.

After pounding, the pulverized pith is washed and refined in a washing-apparatus which is, like the sago-pounder, constructed by women. The apparatus consists of a sloping trough, made of the leaf stalk of the sago frond (A. yiik) supported by sticks (A. paab) stuck in the ground, a sieve made of the last tissue of the coconut palm (P.E. laplap bilong kokonas; A. wâ hitiin) and located near the lower end of the trough, and a few areca palm baskets put on the ground near the sieve. The pulverized pith is placed in the trough, mixed with water,

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1. (continued from the previous page) performed by men. See for example J.W.M. Whiting and S.W. Reed, 'Kwoma Culture: Report on Field Work in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea', in Oceania, 1938-39, Vol.9, pp.178-179; H.I. Hogbin, 'Tillage and Collection: A New Guinea Economy', in ibid, pp.306-308.

and pressed through the sieve. Thus the water with the sago flour, sifted out from the fibrous and inedible part of the pith, run down into a basket where the flour settles by sedimentation. Later, after removing the water, the sedimented sago is collected and put in large bamboo tubes the ends of which are covered by green leaves. The tubes are often preserved for some time in a cool place, in water-holes, ponds, or streams, before being cooked and eaten.

Sago is the staple food. Sago flour is cooked in two ways; a fact which has a crucial significance in many ritual contexts. The flour is either mixed with boiling water, in a large bamboo tube, forming 'sago-jelly' (P.E. hatwara; A. taipa), or roasted, in the same type of bamboo, forming what is called niu (A.).[1] Ritually speaking, sago-jelly is believed to be 'cold' and niu 'hot'.

Up to the recent past, the Puang had an earthenware cooking pot (A. menp) which was also used, as will be seen, in one of the techniques of divination. This pot is still used for divination in some Au villages in the south of Puang, such as Warin. Referring to the Au people of the Wulukum village, Fountain observes:

> "In the past, they also possessed a crude form of pottery, but the villagers now

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1. Niu is also the name of the sago palm.

know the manufacture of it only by hearsay. Fragments of pottery were unearthed by the author on a previous hamlet site."[1]

So far we have described two forms of extensive agriculture, namely, shifting cultivation and sago production. Gathering vegetable and animal food from the village-site and the forest (especially the secondary forest) was practically illustrated in the last section. Edible fruits, leaves, and seeds are gathered not only from uncultivated plants, such as mushrooms, a few varieties of kumu gras (P.E.; their edible leaves), and terkâva (A.; its edible fruits), but also from cultivated plants such as coconut, breadfruit, and betel nut. Moreover, some food plants, such as pandanus, tulip, and ton, are, like sago, semi-domesticated, in the sense that they grow wild as well as being cultivated.

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1. O.C. Fountain, 1966, op. cit., p.8. In Puang, elderly men maintain that the earthenware pot was replaced by the bamboo-pot some four generations ago, and at that time large bamboos neither grew wild nor were planted in the area. They add that large bamboos have not yet completely replaced earthenware pots in many villages in the farther south of Puang, such as Bulowa and Yakeltim (see map 2).

   In this regard, it is noteworthy that, according to some botanists, one of the species of bamboos (L. Bambusa vulgaris) which has 'large strong culms' is not indigenous and has been introduced into the country some time in the past (Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op. cit., Vol.1, p.504). Is the large bamboo in the Au area the same as the bamboo species in question?

The cultivation of plants in the village site and the secondary forest is usually carried out by men, whereas gathering is mainly done by women. Gathering the green leaves of tulip is, like processing sago, characteristically a woman's routine work, and the leaves are, like sago, a daily item in the diet throughout the year.

2. HUNTING AND FISHING

To start with fishing which is, economically and otherwise, less important and, in technique, less complex than hunting: fishing is usually done in the dry season and its methods are poisoning, used only by men, and netting, used mainly by women. The poison is the juice of a creeper (mentioned earlier) which is crushed and placed in the water to stupefy the fish. The fish then floats to the surface and is easily caught. The net, like the net-bag and the female fibre-skirt, is woven by women (see plate 2).

Like fishing by net, the catching of frogs is done mainly by women; and it is usually undertaken at night while holding a fire-brand (A. siiwaai) made of bamboo. Men tend to catch aquatic or large frogs, such as Rana grisea (L.; A. nanhap), whereas women catch the ground-dwelling small frogs, such as Litoria nigropunctata (L.; A. Kerap). Fishing and catching frogs are more often undertaken in small groups rather than individually.

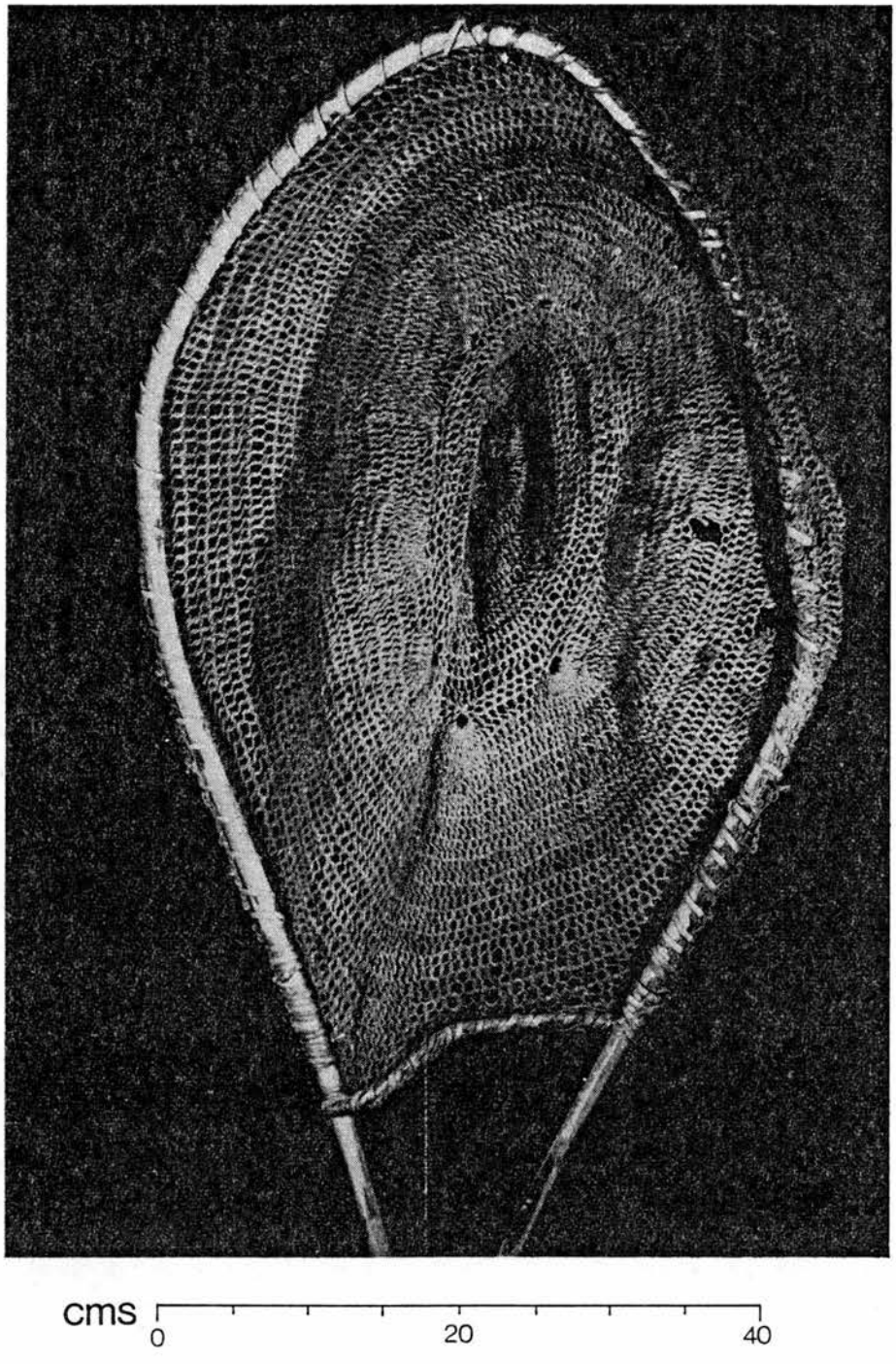

Plate 2. **A fishing net** (A. *hapin).* The cords (A.*taruwa hamin*) are made from the fibres of the bark of *Gnetum gnemon* (L.; P.E. *tulip* ; A.*taruwa*), and the handle encircling the net is rattan. The net is made by women, who also weave the net-bag (P.E. *bilum* ; A.*tanik*), a part of the daily wear of males and females, and the female fibre-skirt (P.E.*purpur* ; A.*nitan*), both of which are similarly made from the bark of the same tree.

With the exception of simple cases, such as capturing frogs and lizards, hunting is exclusively men's work. Men's weapons in hunting animals and birds are the bow and arrow and the spear, the large variety of which are illustrated in Chapter 6 (Table 9, Figure 2). Some of the weapons are also used in inter-village warfare, and in punishing a man for adultery with a married woman. The arrow is aimed, by the husband, at the adulterer's calf (the right one) as the adulterer is intended to become merely wounded and not killed.[1]

The dogs kept in a village are for hunting and each nuclear family has its own dog. Dogs are capable of hunting certain marsupials and the young of the wild pig and cassowary independently, although in such cases dogs may eat part of the kill before giving it to the hunter. Domestic pigs, whose eyes are burnt so that they do not run away from the village to the forest, are not fully domesticated. They copulate with wild pigs, and sometimes include wild piglets found in the forest, especially in the course of hunting. Domestic pigs, like wild ones, are killed with bows and arrows.

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1. An actual case of this punishment, the practice of which has stopped after the establishment of Australian administration, is reported by A.J. Marshall for the Lumirea, in the description of his 1937 trip to the Lumi Sub-District: A.J. Marshall, The Men and Birds-of-Paradise: Journeys Through Equatorial New Guinea, London, 1938, pp.63-64.

In hunting, the techniques employed by men are very briefly as follows:

(a) Stalking and chase,[1] which are ad hoc techniques for situations in which the game is spotted by accident, are used for all game, especially marsupials and, above all, birds and reptiles. Stalking may begin after finding the spoor, such as the copious droppings of the cassowary, the pig's foot-prints, and moulted feathers.

(b) Drive and encircling drive, which are undertaken by a group of men, are especially associated with pig hunting.

(c) Trapping, by stone-traps, rattan-traps, and so forth, is employed for bush-rats, marsupials, and particularly pigs.

(d) Ambush is usually carried out near the plants and locations to which animals and birds are in the habit of going to feed, to drink, to bathe and so forth, such as certain fruit trees, ponds, and tree-holes with water. The people's remarkable knowledge of the

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1. The names of hunting techniques are used here strictly in the sense employed in the following article: R. Bulmer, 'Strategies of Hunting in New Guinea', in Oceania, 1968, Vol.38, No.4, pp.302-318. Some of the techniques mentioned here are illustrated in further detail in chapter 13 on the birds of paradise

feeding habits of game in relation to plants was illustrated earlier. In ambushing pigs, certain marsupials, and birds, a shooting shelter on the ground or a shooting platform in the branches of a tree, may be constructed. Marsupials are frequently ambushed on moonlit nights near the village site, after or before having evening meal.

(e) Luring is carried out mainly in the form of foot-baits and decoy-calls. Baits are used for grasshoppers, lizards, house-rats (by children), and pigs. Sometimes the sounds made by animals and birds, such as pigs and birds of paradise, are imitated; and this is usually done in the course of hunting spells and songs. The sound made by frogs is copied by itself, without the help of a spell or song. Grasshoppers may be attracted by whistling, while reciting a spell. In general, the lines in hunting spells often end with the repetition of meaningless terms, which are said to be for the purpose of attracting or calling the animals and birds concerned. Birds may be lured by parts of their feathers or bones being placed in a magical bundle.

(f) Besetting takes place when the quarry is at its nest or resting place, and is employed for birds, marsupials, and insects. The cassowary and the birds of paradise may be hunted at night, while they are in their nests. Some birds are dazzled by fire at night, when their nests are being approached. Marsupials are sometimes hunted, while they are resting or hiding, in tree-holes or ground-holes. Grasshoppers may be beset while in bamboo tubes. Meirun (A.), an insect referred to before, is beset at night when it is eating the leaves of certain trees, and during the day while in its hole in the ground.

An extraordinary form of besetting, which does not seem to have been reported in any part of Oceania and Australia,[1] is approaching the cassowary's nest, which is on the ground, at night and setting fire to its plumage. The fire makes the cassowary run away to the nearest watering place, where it finally dies and its body is collected the day after. This form of besetting is not,

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1. See for instance B. Anell, 'Hunting and Trapping Methods in Australia and Oceania', 1960, Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia, XVIII.

now or traditionally, practised in Puang, around which cassowaries are rare. It is practised in some Au villages in the south of Puang, such as Warin, Witweis, and Wasin, where the area is less densely populated and the primary forest available for hunting is larger, and as a result cassowaries are much more common.

Men usually take their bows and some arrows with them whenever they leave the village site for the forest, as they may spot the game fortuitously or, encounter the enemy including raiding-magicians (P.E. sanguma; A. hiwaak). The fact that, in the forest, men must constantly be on the watch for the enemy and especially for game and consequently retain their hands free and ready to use the bow and arrow at any time, explains, as the Puang agree, why the load of food, firewood and the like, even if it is very heavy, is carried by women to the village site. In the evening when, sometimes, a married couple return from the daily work to the village together, it is noticeably the wife, not the husband, who is carrying a load on her back, and at times with a baby on top of the load. This is a conspicuous exception to the general rule that, as we have seen in the description of division of labour in Puang so far, heavy tasks are undertaken by men rather than women.

The times in which men plan to go hunting is partly determined by the climate and the characteristics of each

kind of game. In general, the dry season is, for example, more suitable for hunting than the wet season. Some birds can be beset in their nests only during a certain period of the year, when they have to be in their nests to lay and hatch their eggs. Pigeons are ambushed in dry weather while they are bathing in standing water. But, in contrast, parrots and the hornbill cannot be ambushed in this way in dry weather as they are not in the habit of bathing and take advantage of the rain instead.

The time of hunting is also determined socially. The hunting of the wild pig, which is the most important game in many respects, is not primarily intended to contribute to the normal diet. Pork is used for, and is required, at the time of kinship exchanges, such as those in marriage, Singing Rituals (P.E. singsing; A. hanya[1]), funeral ceremonies, and puberty rites. Likewise, the domestic pig is primarily reared to be used for the above purposes, especially as part of bride-wealth.

Every year, early in the dry season (May to June) men, usually in small groups, tend to go hunting for more than a month or so. Apart from the suitability of dry weather for hunting this is because, firstly, in that period men are released from major and time-consuming activities relating to gardens. Secondly,

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1. 'Hanya' literally means 'song', and in this context, which is the chief context of its usuage, 'ritual song'. It is also used in magic for some types of magical spells or songs.

it is the time for the main harvest, which may be followed by a Singing Ritual requiring pork for exchange and distribution.[1] Thirdly, it is at that time that the annual exchange of meat and newly harvested root crops takes place between a man on the one hand, and his affinal and matrilateral relatives on the other.

According to Puang beliefs, early in the dry season is also a period in which the number of pigs in the forest is on the increase; and this is related to the Pleiads. In the Au language, the term for the Pleiads, sak nikim, literally means 'sow's litter'. The Pleiads are believed to be the souls (A. himin) of a sow (A. sak miya; literally 'pig-mother') and her litter. The reappearance of the constellation, which coincides with early in the dry season, is believed to indicate that female pigs have given birth to many offspring, and it is therefore the time to go pig hunting.

The last point to be made regarding hunting is that Au people, including the Puang, seem to have relied more on hunting than gardening in the past before a major migration. This point is worth mentioning here not only

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1. There is more than one Singing Ritual for the celebration of the harvest in question in the Au area. For example, in the Warin village the ritual performed is Wârâmai (A.), in Tumentonik is Tuwun (A.) and in Puang Wân haruwâ (A.) or Yoki (A.).

in its own right and because the Puang frequently refer to it, but also because it has a notable bearing on the present economy as well as beliefs.

The Puang state clearly, and in such a manner that their belief does not sound to be entirely mythical, that all Au people, and many neighbouring peoples of other linguistic groups, originally migrated from Magaleri.[1] There is indeed a village with this name in the South Wapei Census-Division, some 30 miles south of Puang (see map 2). The Australian administration has been in contact with the village for some time[2] and the CMML, one of the two major missions in the Sub-District, has a station there. The Puang know that Magaleri is in the south of Puang, Warin, Weisin, and Bulawa, and correctly point out that it is near Yakeltim and Nami[3].

In pre-contact times, internal migration seems to have often been a characteristic of the Lumi Sub-District.[4]

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1. This statement was especially checked with informants from some other Au villages, namely, Tumentonik, Warin, Witikin, Nakil, and Anguganak.
2. It is noteworthy that, according to a Lumi Patrol Report (dated 29th December 1957), the 1957 cargo cult movement which originated in Puang spread as far as Magaleri.
3. The Puang pronounce Magaleri, Bulawa and Yakeltim (cf. D.C. Laycock, 1973, op. cit.) as Makreri, Buluwa, and Yahantom.
4. D.C. Laycock, 1973, op. cit., pp.54-55; 1975, op. cit., p.772; cf. 1965, The Ndu Language Family (Sepik District, New Guinea), Series C, No.1, Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, the Australian National University, pp.190, 192-197; O.C. Fountain, 1966, op. cit., pp.6-8; W.E. Mitchell, 'Culturally Contrasting Therapeutic Systems of the West Sepik: The Lujere', in Psychological Anthropology, ed. G.T.R. Williams, 1975, Mouton, the Hague, p.413.

In the Sub-District, the geographical and linguistic research so far carried out suggests, as the Puang also say, that a general direction of internal migration has been northward.[1] Fountain, for instance, observes: "... there is more evidence to support the contention that there has been in-migration from the south in the past ..."[2]

In the Puang's view, at the time of staying in Magaleri,[3] people lived much more on hunting than gardening. In the area in which Magaleri is located, compared with the Au area, hunting is more practised and gardening is, at the present time, less developed.[4] The Puang are of the opinion that people migrated from Magaleri because they desired to have more taro and yams to eat with their hunting meat and Magaleri was not very suitable for gardening. Likewise, Fountain points out that if the northern migration took place it could have been because of the fact that the foothill zone (including the Au area)

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1. D.C. Laycock, ibid.; O.C. Fountain, ibid.
2. Ibid., p.7.
3. This may be in a remote past: at present, the language spoken in Magaleri, namely, Amel, is very different from Au. While Au belongs to the Torricelli phylum, Amel is included in the Sepik-Ramu phylum. See D.C. Laycock, 1973, op. cit., p.21.
4. O.C. Fountain, 1966, op. cit., p.5: W.E. Mitchell, 1975, op. cit., p.417.

in the north presented a more favourable environment for gardening than the flatter plains in the south. In this zone,

> "The steeper slopes provided a more fertile soil at their base than did the more gentle slopes further south."[1]

The significance of hunting, compared with gardening, may be briefly illustrated by the following points:

(a) Property rights are primarily hunting rights. A clan (patrilineal) claims collective ownership of a piece of land basically through a spirit which is believed to be residing, usually in a sacred pond, in that land. This spirit, namely, the hunting-spirit (A. witipir), is concerned with hunting and has nothing to do with gardening.

(b) Hunting-spirits, more than anything else, give identity and exclusive protection to clans. Each hunting-spirit is the transformation of the most remote common ancestor (male) in a clan, and its sacred pond is the place into which the male members of the clan go after death. Each hunting-spirit has a secret name known only to the clansmen

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1. O.C. Fountain, 1966, op. cit., p.7.

concerned and used in, and essential for, magical spells in pig hunting. Sometimes, if not ideally, hunting-spirits are concerned with, not only hunting and its success but also warfare and its success, in a clan. Using post-contact expressions, the Puang say that their hunting-spirits are their 'pawa' (P.E.; E. power) and their 'angelo' (P.E.; E. guardian angel).

In contrast, garden-spirits have not any special association with any kin-group, village, or locality by kinship or otherwise. They are attached to a garden wherever the garden happens to be made in a village, have no secret names, and are only two and the same in every village. Unlike hunting-spirits, garden-spirits are believed to be the cause of certain illnesses, though they are also held responsible for curing them.

(c) A man's blood is believed to go into the big game he hunts and the yams and taro he cultivates. But this blood-relationship is taken more seriously with regard to hunting than gardening: a man is forbidden to eat his own kill but not his own yams and taro. This point will become more clear if we note

that among the Kwoma, another Sepik people with a similar economy but more elaborate gardening, a man is forbidden to eat his own yam as well as his own kill.[1]

(d) Hunting weapons, only some of which are illustrated here, are remarkably elaborate. This is in contrast to, say, the Mountain Arapesh, a Sepik people with a similar economy, about whom Mead observed that they "make a few simple forms of arrows" and "rely entirely upon import for their bows".[2] Mead also observes that the 'wapi' are distinguished for making elaborate bows and arrows.[3] The term 'wapi' in its old and broad sense covers the majority of the inhabitants, including the Au, of what is now called the Lumi Sub-District.[4]

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1. J.W.M. Whiting and S.W. Reed, 'Kwoma Culture, Report on Fieldwork in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea', in Oceania, 1938, Vol.9, No.2, pp.180, 182.
2. M. Mead, 'The Mountain Arapesh, An Importing Culture', in Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 1939, Vol.36, Part 3, p.306.
3. Ibid., p.191.
4. M. Mead defines the term, nowadays spelled as 'wapei' or 'wape', as follows: "Wapi, Current term applied to the inhabitants of the Plains behind Aitape, on the south side of the Torricelli Mountain Range." ibid., p.349; more recently referring to the broad sense of the term, McGregor writes: "Specifically, it includes people in the Lumi Local, Somoro, West Wape, South West Wape, South Wape, Au West and Au East Census Divisions", D.E. McGregor, The Fish and the Cross, New Zealand, August, 1975, p.8.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE VILLAGE AS THE POLITICAL UNIT: THE INTERNAL ASPECT

Puang as a political unit may be discussed in two parts, the first dealing with its internal aspect and the second with its external aspect, that is, its relation with other villages. To begin with the internal aspect. The village of Puang is divided into six hamlets, some of which are subdivided into sections (see Table 3). As can be seen in Table 3, the name 'Puang' is used for the village as well as for one of its hamlets. This seems to have something to do with the fact that, the Puang hamlet is said to have been the first hamlet built and occupied, and is spatially the largest. The employment of certain terms mentioned in Table 3, for both a hamlet and one of its sections seems to be because of the same reasons.

The Nikis hamlet is sometimes called 'Meici' by the Australian Administration and the missionaries. Meici is, in fact, an earlier site of the hamlet, which was abandoned in 1935 because of an earthquake.[1] The 1935 earthquake was very strong and caused damage to most parts

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1. For the locations of present and past hamlets see Map (plan) No.4.

of the Sub-District, and is remembered by the Puang as a turning-point in their history.[1]

TABLE 3: Puang Hamlets and their Population in 1973

Hamlet Names	Hamlet Population	Hamlet Sections
1. Puang	93	(Witpuang (Yahane (Wânkip (Yarmoni
2. Nikis	91	
3. Nipin	91	
4. Witmongap	65	(Witmongap (Yahimu (Witaan
5. Yasainak	46	
6. Witwonak	68	(Witwonak (Ya taruwâ
	Total: 454	

1. This earthquake has been recorded: G.A.V. Stanley, et. al., 'Preliminary Notes on the Recent Earthquake in New Guinea, by Members of the Geological Survey Staff of Oil Search Ltd., in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea', in The Australian Geographer, 1935, Vol.2, No.8, pp.8-15. An eye-witness account is given by J.M. McCarthy, Patrol into Yesterday: My New Guinea Years, Angus & Robertson Ltd., London, 1964, pp.156-158. Some of the effects of the earthquake on the Lumi Sub-District and the Au area are described by A.J. Marshall, 1938, op. cit., for example pp.12-13, 16-19, 38-39.

Not many years before 1935 the Nikis hamlet was called, and located in, Witnikis. This site was abandoned because of many sudden deaths within the hamlet supposedly caused by a type of destructive magic, namely, tulip-magic,[1] performed by the people of Garoka, one of the hamlets of the Piem village.

There have been further changes in the sites and names of Puang hamlets, due to similar fears of magic, more recently. Witmetap was one of the hamlets of the village until 1958, if not a year or so later, when its people all left it and settled in other hamlets.[2] The Yasainak hamlet was, for the first time, built and occupied in 1962 and its people came from the Puang hamlet, especially the Yarmoni section.[3]

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1. This magic is described in the following chapter.
2. In a Lumi Patrol Report, dated 1956-57, Witmetap is mentioned as one of the hamlets of the Puang village.
3. The names of the hamlets and their sections are hardly of any significance in relation to totemism, kinship, and so forth, and seem to have been chosen, like the names of clans to be seen later, by accidental circumstances. Literally speaking, some of the names are, however, meaningful: 'Ya taruwâ' means 'the road to tulip trees'. 'Nipin' means 'the leaves of the sago palm', and is also the name of a minor spirit, that is, a remote ancestor who turned into a stone which still exists in the Nipin hamlet. 'Meici' is the name of a tree the bark of which is ground, mixed with water, and drunk for curing sore throats. 'Puang' is the name of one woman in the Witikin village, as 'Nikis' is in the Yemnu village. As some informants agree, 'Puang' is perhaps a derivative of 'Puanga' (A.; P.E. Kumu gras), an uncultivated vegetable, the green leaves of which are eaten with sago. 'Puanga' is also the name of a hunting-spirit associated with the Puang hamlet in the past and with the Witikin village at present.

The pre-contact population of Puang was definitely less than the present one. Post-contact changes, which began mainly after the Second World War, have increased the population of Au villages, especially of those, like Puang, which have been in close contact with missionary or government hospitals:

TABLE 4: Population Increase in Puang

Year	Population
1951/2	375
1955	382
1961	415
1969	437
1972	450
1973	454

TABLE 5: Population Increase in Some Au Villages

Names of Villages	Population	
	Year: 1962	Year: 1972
Anguganak	199	241
Brugap	264	278
Winaluk	115	130
Wulukum	190	251
Yankok	152	173

Puang is, traditionally, a stateless society, lacking any form of centralized political and administrative organization. The village does not have a headman or a council of elders; nor does it have the type of leaders called 'big men', found in some Papua New Guinea societies. Puang society is highly egalitarian and without hereditary ranks or much social specialization, except that based on age, sex and kinship. The position of a magician or of a war leader is something to be achieved not inherited. Magic and leadership in war are not full-time occupations, and those famous in these fields do the same kinds of daily work and have the same standard of living as others. Magic is not even, exclusively, the part-time occupation of a small number of men. All adult males know and practice, for instance, the major productive magic of hunting and planting, and the most important destructive magic, namely, contagious magic.

But the society's being egalitarian does not, of course, mean that some individuals do not, because of certain skills and characteristics, become practically more influential and important than others. Competence in oratory, for example, is valued and may give a man certain influence over others. This competence is displayed by men especially in gatherings commonly held in the men's ceremonial house or the shelter-house, where

disputes are often settled and collective decisions are made. War leaders, though they live the same type of life as others, are especially liked and respected, because they protect, as the Puang say, the people of their own village against outsiders. The same is true of magicians, who usually use their magical skill and healing rituals for the benefit of their own people. In Puang, the people fondly remember their own war leaders and magicians of the recent past. The war leaders were Wamase,[1] Yawanke,[2] and Mowani;[3] and the magicians Pakri,[4] Nawi,[5] and Sepo[6]. By character, war leaders tend to be younger and practically-orientated and magicians older and intellectually-orientated.

Puang society is, traditionally, an autonomous political unit. It has its own territory with defined boundaries, covering the village site and part of the surrounding forest; and it is a peaceful group in which homicide is avoided. In principle and also usually in practice, arrows and spears are used to wage war upon other villages and not to kill a fellow-villager. Within the

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1. From Puang hamlet, Tanik Ninik clan.
2. From Nikis hamlet, Taruwap clan.
3 &4 From Witmongap hamlet, Neknouken clan.
5. From Nikis hamlet, Tanik Ninik clan.
6. From Puang hamlet, Suluk clan.

village, fighting, a rare and an undesirable phenomenon, is carried out with sticks and without intent to kill, and sometimes with firebrands often held merely as a threatening gesture. A man who has sexual intercourse with another's wife in the village may be shot by her husband with an arrow, but, as mentioned earlier, the arrow is aimed at the calf of the adulterer's leg, without the intention of causing death. The adulterer may be threatened or slightly injured with a firebrand instead.

Likewise, in principle and usually in practice, destructive magic, both in its performance and its accusations, is directed against other villages; and supposed magical homicide, that is, death believed to be caused by magic, is avoided within the village. A form of contagious magic is sometimes used in the village by the mother's brother (A. paab) against the sister's son (A. nikan), in order to remind the latter of his unfulfilled kinship obligations. But in this form of contagious magic, unlike its normal form, the magical bundle is not destroyed as the intention is not to kill the victim but only to sicken him.

Intra-village homicide is a disadvantage to the village as an autonomous political unit, because, as the Puang say, it reduces the numerical strength of its people

in their opposition to other people. The Puang say the same thing with regard to intra-village destructive magic, which can, in their view, kill people. Homicide, as well as magical homicide, in the village is prevented by some strongly held beliefs.

Firstly the victim's ghost could kill the culprit, that is, the slayer or the magician, rather easily, as victim and culprit are of the same village and, consequently, the former's ghost is in close vicinity to the latter and is able to take vengeance without any difficulty. Secondly, the culprit and his close relatives (patrilineal and to a lesser degree matrilateral) cannot eat, or establish marital relationship (which entails sharing food), with the victim's same type of relatives, for a few generations. Otherwise the victim's relatives may secretly grate a bone of his, or take anything closely associated with his body, such as his hair, and add it to the food given the culprit or the culprit's relatives. In this way, the victim's ghost is able to kill the person eating that food in revenge.[1] Thirdly, the victim's relatives may perform destructive magic against the culprit or the culprit's relatives. They may, for example, take something closely associated with the culprit or the culprit's

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1. Note that this is the reverse form of contagious magic: in contagious magic a person is believed to kill another person through the latter's personal belongings. Here the ghost of a dead person is believed to kill another person through the former's personal belongings.

relatives, such as left-over food, and do contagious magic on it. Taking a piece of a person's left-over food, like sharing food, can of course be done easily within a village because of the continual interaction among the village people.

When an intra-village homicide, or supposed magical homicide occurs, provided that the culprit and the victim are not of the same clan, compensation in the form of shell rings - the Puang's 'money' - may be paid. But in practice, firstly, with regard to magical homicide the question of compensation hardly arises as, traditionally, the magician usually discloses or confesses his magical act when he is about to die and believes that the victim's ghost is trying to kill him. Secondly, with regard to homicide, as recorded cases show, compensation is rarely paid and sometimes when the question of compensation is raised, no agreement is reached regarding the amount to be paid, and finally no compensation is paid.

In the village, the more usual reaction to inter-clan and especially intra-clan homicide, and sometimes magical homicide if it is discovered or confession is not made too late, is that the culprit leaves his hamlet or his village for good. And he leaves sometimes with some of his close relatives, patrilineal and to a lesser degree matrilateral. As recorded cases indicate, the culprit may then settle down in another village, or another hamlet

in the same village. He (and his close relatives) may also try to form a new hamlet in the same village, or an independent and very distant hamlet which later develops into an independent village. This is how new hamlets and villages have sometimes emerged in the past.

The culprit leaves his place for good because, apart from the fact that if he stays on he may be killed in retaliation, he is, as the Puang say, 'ashamed' (A. yink anuk) of his own wrong doing, especially if the homicide or the magical homicide is an intra-clan one. Moreover, the feeling of shame, the fear of the victim's ghost, and the fear of the victim's relatives' destructive magic, are too strong to be entirely eliminated by paying compensation. Also, as will be shown later, on the one hand, land is traditionally abundant in the area (for forming new villages), and on the other, the people of other hamlets and villages tend to welcome an outsider to join them, even if he does not happen to be related to any of them by kinship or marriage.

As was pointed out earlier, intra-village homicide is very rare. In general, the Puang are not inclined to consider physical force, and especially homicide, a desirable means of settling intra-village disputes. In the two-year course of the fieldwork I did not observe, or hear of, any man actually attacking another man physically.

Some missionaries who had lived in part of the Au area for a much longer period could recall only a few such instances. It is also noteworthy that physical force is very little used by adults against children and adolescents. The extent to which children are left free and undisciplined is indeed striking.

It is true that when an adultery is discovered the adulterer is physically assaulted. But, firstly, this does not always happen. Secondly, what does always happen and, in a sense, constitutes a more effective form of punishment is that he is shamed by the disclosure of his act, and by the fact that the woman's husband and his (or her) close relatives will publicly express their indignation with him at the time if not also many more times in the future. Expressing indignation to shame a person for his wrongdoing, such as adultery, petty theft, and so forth, is not done to his face, otherwise it would be too aggressive an act and itself a wrongdoing. It is usually done, and sometimes very loudly, when, on the one hand, he is not present but close enough to hear what is said (e.g. while he is inside his house and the speaker is outside and several yards away from it), and on the other, others are present or nearby.

Sometimes adulterers, whose wrongdoing is regarded as a major form of theft, do commit suicide out of shame. A recent and famous case is that of the Puang's cargo cult

leader, Wayowi, who will be discussed later. In another case, an adulterer committed suicide because he was, it is said, shamed by his own wife. A few years before the fieldwork, a newly-married girl committed suicide out of shame, not because of adultery but merely because, it is said, her mother-in-law had accused her of over-much interest in the sexual aspect of marriage.

Suicide, which is not regarded as an 'abnormal' reaction, is, and is believed to be, invariably caused by feelings of shame. The idea of shame will be examined at length later. It may suffice here to say that this idea is dominant in Puang society and the Puang mind. As we have seen, in the local language there is a term for it, namely, yink anuk, which I learnt in the first few weeks of the fieldwork. The term is frequently used by the Puang in their conversations and interpretations of social events. Unlike physical force, shame is, psychologically speaking, an internal force and, as far as the observation of social values and norms is concerned, it helps each person to be, so to speak, a self-regulating part of the system of Puang society.

Shame is of cosmic as well as social significance, as it operates not only in the relationship between man and man, but also in that between man on the one hand and nature and spirits (i.e. spirits, the ancestors, and ghosts)

on the other. Certain animals and plants and all types of spirits are believed to be, like man, capable of experiencing shame. As will be seen in detail later, pigs, for example, are said to commit suicide out of shame in the forest sometimes. A married couple should not make love in front of their dog, otherwise the dog will feel that he has been put to shame; and he will tell other dogs later: 'my father and mother [i.e. my owners] have no shame'. An informant may refuse to narrate the myth concerning the origin of sago palms if there is a sago palm in the vicinity, on the grounds that the palm will hear him and will feel ashamed of its secret being disclosed to a stranger. A major issue, namely, the efficacy of healing rituals, of which the Puang have a large variety, is explained in terms of shame on the part of the spirits concerned. A healing ritual is efficacious, that is, after the ritual the spirit causing illness will stop doing so, because the spirit, it is believed, will feel ashamed of being identified and of its harm, which it has been causing secretly, being disclosed in public.

The recorded cases of intra-village homicide are only 17; a fact which has a bearing on the rarity of this type of homicide. The cases relate to Puang and some other Au villages and have taken place a few decades ago or earlier.

The recorded cases of intra-village magical homicide are only 16. The rarity of such cases can be seen in the fact that my recorded cases of inter-village magical homicide are about two hundred. As a matter of fact, the number of inter-village cases could be said to be, strictly speaking, almost as many as actual deaths in Au villages. Firstly, when a person dies, however old or ill he (or she) may be, at least his close and intimate relatives do not usually explain his death purely in terms of natural causes. Secondly, the final cause of death is most often assumed to be destructive magic performed by other villages.

The 16 cases in question are, with two exceptions, all concerned with the practice of destructive magic and not merely its accusation. Fourteen of the magicians concerned confessed, sometimes without being accused, that they had performed magic, and only two of them refused to do so (perhaps truthfully) even after being accused. Here is another contrast between intra-village and inter-village destructive magic. In the former, the frequency of the accusations of magic is almost as low as the actual practice of magic; whereas in the latter, the frequency of accusations is, in the observer's judgement, by far, more than the number of times magic is actually performed.

Out of the 16 cases, in one case the magic carried out is pointing-magic (to be described later in next chapter)

and in the rest contagious magic. The cases have all occurred in Puang during the last several decades.

On the basis of the above recorded cases the social context of intra-village homicide and supposed magical homicide could be characterized as follows. The following characteristics, mentioned in order of importance, are sometimes concerned not with different types of contexts but with different aspects of the same context.

i. Accidental

At times homicide and magical homicide are, at least in the observer's view, accidental or unintentional. For example, in one case, a man who has climbed a coconut palm to pick up some coconut drops one of them on someone's head by accident. In another case, a man who has committed adultery with a married woman happens to die of his leg injuries caused by her husband's arrow. In one case, a man does contagious magic on left-over food, without knowing that the food has been eaten not only by his intended victim, from another village, but also by his own father's sister residing in his own village.

ii. Personal

Sometimes homicide and magical homicide are due to personal grudges relating to minor quarrels and petty thefts. Several cases of both types of homicide are based on quarrels and accusations of theft over such items as a piece of meat, a wail limbum basket (A. hausa), a

handful of betel nuts, a small number of edible grubs (A. naank), and so forth. Accidental and personal cases may be inter-clan or intra-clan.

iii. Retaliatory

Retaliation is, not unfrequently, the reason and at times the excuse, for committing homicide and magical homicide. A person may retaliate not only upon his own opponent, but also upon his opponent's close relatives (patrilineal and matrilateral). Homicide may be retaliated by magical homicide and vice versa.

iv. Marital

There are three cases of adultery in which the husband kills his own unfaithful wife rather than injuring or killing the adulterer. There is no case of magical homicide, its actual practice or its accusations, between husband and wife.

v. Affinal

There is no case of the actual practice or the accusations of magical homicide between affines living in the same village. There is a case of homicide in which a woman's brothers kill her husband on the false assumption that he has killed her. A man beats his wife and the false news reaches another hamlet, where her brothers are living, that she has been killed. Her brothers grow very indignant, rush to her hamlet, and kill her husband with the bow and arrow immediately.

vi. Matrilateral

There is no case of homicide. There are three cases in which, by magic, the mother's brother is believed to have killed his sister's son, rather than merely sickening him. Marital, affinal, and matrilateral relationships are examined later, in the chapters on kinship and marriage.

The following are two examples of the recorded cases under consideration:

Case No.1. An Intra-Village Homicide

A few decades ago or so there were two young men, Tambei and Wanei, of two of the lineages of the Neknouken clan, staying in the Witmongap hamlet of the Puang village. Tambei fell in love with Wanei's adopted sister, Yulai, and after a while Wanei suggested that Tambei marry her. It is true that clans are exogamous but, firstly, 'wrong' marriages, especially by persistent lovers, are not without precedent. Secondly, she was an adopted member of the clan and marriage with her was less undesirable than that with a real member. Tambei did not, however, decide to marry her, or had not yet decided about it until the night in which Wanei saw him giving her a betel nut and an armband. Lovers, especially men, give gifts to their beloved and the betel nut, being a love and sex symbol, is the most usual gift in this regard. Then Wanei started a fight with Tambei; and although both used only sticks, Tambei was severely injured and later died.

After the homicide, Wanei moved to the Witikin village, where his matrilateral relatives were staying. These relatives sent a message to Puang warning that if anyone attempted to retaliate upon Wanei he would be killed. Wanei lived on for a number of years in Witikin, where he also married. But one day, while trying to fell a tree in order to make a new garden, he fell down, broke his legs, and later died. Some informants say that his death was caused by Tambei's ghost. Others add that his death was also caused by Tambei's father's contagious magic.

Case No.2. An Intra-Village Supposed Magical Homicide

In 1973, in the course of two months or so several people died in the Puang village. The Puang believed that the deaths were not accidental or unrelated to each other; and the major explanation given by the Puang was that the deaths were caused by a man's ghost who had been the victim of recent intra-village magic in Puang. The details are as follows.

The man who did the magic was called Suwani, from the Neknouken clan, in the Witmongap hamlet. The magic used was pointing-magic (A. manmin), a type of destructive magic (to be described later). The victim was a man from the same clan, but staying in a different hamlet, namely, the Puang hamlet. Suwani himself died too, soon after the victim, and when he was about to

die he confessed his magical act and said that his death was being caused by the victim's ghost. In his confession he did not mention his reasons for having done magic. The reasons, in which the Puang did not show any interest, seem to have been minor and personal.

The reason why the victim's ghost not only killed Suwani but also was trying to kill many others in the village was said to be this. Suwani had carried out his magic on the village site, and consequently the victim's ghost knew well who and which village had done the magic and was lingering on there to take as much revenge as possible. As a rule, a magician should perform destructive magic somewhere in the forest and not in his own village, so that, firstly, the victim's ghost does not easily find out to which village the magician belongs, and secondly the ghost does not have much chance to identify the magician, as he leaves the site of his performance in the forest immediately and does not return there for a very long time.

In that period of 1973, Puang men felt grave fears for their own safety and that of their women and children. When one of the last deaths in the above series occurred in the Yasainak hamlet, many people in other hamlets refused to attend the Yasainak funeral ceremony for fear that the victim's ghost would strike them dead in the ceremony there. The Yasainak did not beat their slit-gong for the occasion either, contrary to what is done normally, lest somehow more people should die.

Kiwan, an elderly man from the Suluk clan and the ex-village councillor left his home in Yasainak out of fear and settled temporarily in the Nikis hamlet. Nikis is far more distant from the Puang hamlet (the victim's hamlet) than Yasainak, and until then had not suffered any casualties in this regard. Kiwan told his son: 'If the victim's ghost kills me put an adz near my grave, so that my ghost kills many of Suwani's close relatives'. In Puang when a person wishes to take vengeance upon others after his death, he often asks for an adz to be placed near his corpse.

Kiwan was indignant with Suwani and not Suwani's victim's ghost, and so were many other people in Puang. Suwani's magic was wrong in more than one respect: it was intra-village, it was intra-clan, and it had been carried out on the village site. The victim's ghost was also believed to be indignant at having been killed by a fellow-villager and a fellow-clansman. The Puang felt, as they put it, 'ashamed' (A. yïnk anuk) of themselves and repeatedly said to me and to each other: 'Other villages cannot be blamed. It is our fault. It is the fault of the Neknouken clan. Why should we kill each other like this? If we go on like this we will be destroyed completely.'

CHAPTER SIX

T H E V I L L A G E A S T H E P O L I T I C A L U N I T : THE EXTERNAL ASPECT

Like Puang, all other Au villages are each a stateless and politically autonomous unit. Au people, numbering 4098 and living in 19 villages, merely constitute what is technically called a 'phyle';[1] that is, they lack any centralized political machinery and only possess the same language, with minor differences from one village to another.

As far as language is concerned, this cultural-linguistic phyle does not appear to be highly distinct from most of the other phylae in the Lumi Sub-District. As we have seen before, Au and its five neighbouring languages are all of the same linguistic family. The percentage of lexical sharing between Au and four of these languages (the fifth is not yet studied for this purpose), and that between Au and the majority of other Sub-District languages, is considerable (Tables 6 and 7).[2]

One also gets the impression that, by culture as well as social structure, the basic resemblance between the Au phyle and its neighbouring phylae is even more than the linguistic one. Au people, who have had longstanding contact, including inter-marriage, with their neighbouring peoples, have not faced striking differences between themselves and others in this regard.

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1. I. Hogbin, 'Anthropological Definitions', 1972, op. cit., p.25.
2. The tables are based on D.C. Laycock, 1968, op. cit., pp.48-49; 1973, op. cit.

TABLE 6: Percentage of Lexical Sharing Between Au and its Neighbouring Languages

Names of Languages	Locations: Census Divisions	No. of Speakers in 1970	Percentage of Lexical Sharing with Au
Elkei	Au west, Lumi Local	1427	46
Yil	Au west, Au east	2134	36
Ningil	Au east	523	31
Alu	Au east, West Palei	1880	22
		Average	33.7

The largest unit with which an Au person identifies and is conceptually and practically concerned is not his cultural-linguistic phyle but his village. The Au phyle, as is usually the case with other Sub-District phylae, does not have local names for its language, territory, and so forth. Au people do not, traditionally, show any conscious or unconscious sensitivity, in their behaviour, statements, belief, ritual and mythology, about

TABLE 7: Percentage of Lexical Sharing Between Au and the Majority of Other Languages Spoken in the Lumi Sub-District

Names of Languages	Locations: Census Divisions	No. of Speakers in 1970	Percentage of Lexical Sharing with Au
Olo	Somoro, Lumi Local, West Wapei	10821	40
Yis	South-west Wapei	489	33
Nambi	West Palei	484	33
Yau	Lumi Local	140	30
Aru	East Palei	125	28
Aiku	East Palei, West Palei,	819	24
Wiaku	West Palei, Maimai Namblo	561	23
Aruop	East Palei	330	22
Siliput	Makru-Klaplei	222	21
Agi	West Palei	670	18
Beli	Maimai Namblo	1241	17
Yahang	Maimai Namblo	1001	16
Galu	West Palei	208	15
Heyo	Wanwan	1872	15
Kayik	East Palei, West Palei	769	14
		Average:	23.2

their unity against others. They do not, for instance, try to attribute something to themselves as a people, historically, mythically, and otherwise, in order to make a distinction between themselves and other people. There is no myth concerned with Au people or with their origin as such. In their conversations of any kind, when they refer to another village in the area they do not point out the type of language spoken there, or whether it is an Au village or not. In warfare or destructive magic, an Au village does not support another Au village, against a non-Au village, on the grounds of sharing the same language.

There is an Au myth according to which in times past a land-spirit (A. Tipir) enabled a variety of birds to speak, by reciting a magical spell and chewing and spitting certain vegetables[1] on them. Then the birds, each of which spoke differently, flew away in various directions and taught men how to speak. The speech (A. him) of men is not the same now, as each group of them encountered and linguistically 'followed' a different bird.

In its brief form, this myth gives the impression that it is an attempt to explain the diversity of languages

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1. The vegetables were, apart from betel nut, nekip (A.), yaaip (A.), yairap (A.; similar to yaaip), semi (A.) and meni (A.). For some data on these plants see pp.460,469.

in the area, and that in it all the people speaking the same language and living in different villages are conceptualized as a unit. The text and detailed form of the myth does not, however, confirm this impression. The myth is really concerned, not with the diversity of languages with phylae as the units, but with 'dialectal variations'[1] with villages as the units. Thus, for instance, the people of each Au village, and not all Au villages as a whole, are said to follow a particular bird linguistically. Also, no distinction is made between dialectal variations belonging and not belonging to the same language. Different villages are said to follow different birds, irrespective of whether such villages have identical languages or not (see Table 8).

It is said that the people of a village ought to avoid eating the bird with which they are associated, and that in the past this taboo was observed practically. At times such birds have further connections, totemic and otherwise, with the villages concerned. As can be seen in Table 8, the bird associated with the Puang is guirip

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1. 'Dialectal variations' is used here instead of 'dialects', as each village does not often have a separate dialect. Sometimes between two Au villages, especially if they are in close vicinity to each other, such as Puang and Tumentonik, differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar are too limited for us to regard each of the two villages as having a different dialect.

(A.; a kingfisher). In Puang, this bird is also associated with sago palms and is believed to be the totemic ancestor of one of the clans, namely, the Suluk clan.[1]

TABLE 8: Examples of the Mythical Association of Birds with the Dialectal Variations of Languages as Spoken in Villages

The Village	The language a dialectal variation of which is spoken in the village	The bird with which the dialectal variation is associated
Puang	Au	Giurip (A.)
Piem	"	Belouken (A.)
Wititai	"	Haam (A.)
Witikin	"	Yurapa (A.)
Nakil	"	Kuruwai (A.)
Tumentonik	"	Hiisu (A.)
Musu	Yil	Nemanp (A.)
Wublagil	"	Tape (A.)
Pimon	"	Hiika (A.)
Lalwi	"	Yuwaan (A.)

For the identification of most of the birds see Table 2.

1. It is noteworthy that, in the Puang's view, both Europeans and New Guineans have learnt pidgin English from a bird, namely, an owl (A. Kuku) about which significant cargoist ideas have developed in the post-contact period.

Although each Au village, such as Puang, is politically autonomous and economically self-sufficient, it has a number of relationships with adjacent villages within a radius of several miles. Such adjacent villages often happen to be Au, but they may also be other than Au, like the Yili village and the Lalwi village in the case of Puang.

Inter-village relationships are, first of all, those which are based on kinship and marriage and include mutual visiting and gift-exchanges (to be described later). They are also ritual ties. The major collective rituals of a village, such as a variety of Singing Rituals, the ritual after a newly-made slit-gong, and often puberty and funeral rites, take place with the participation of some people from other villages. As a matter of fact, Singing Rituals have been 'bought', as will be seen, by some villages, like Puang, from others, with shell rings.

Inter-village trading in ritual expertise also includes magical techniques and spells concerning garden-magic and certain types of destructive magic and its healing rituals. Such trading is not, however, very frequent. Nor does it need to be, as once, for example, a Singing Ritual is bought it can be used generation after generation.

In general, inter-village trading, whether with shell rings or in the form of barter, is very limited. Ceremonial

and competitive exchanges, often reported from other parts of Papua New Guinea, are lacking in the area. On limited occasions, northern Au villages, like Puang, barter tobacco for smoked meat with southern Au villages, or sago flour for lime with Yil-speaking villages, as the southern Au and Yil peoples are, respectively, better off regarding hunting meat and lime. In spite of the abundance of land, a small and suitable piece of land may, though rarely, be bought with shell rings. In the recent past, the Puang (the Taruwap clan) bought land from the Piem and the Tumentonik from the Puang (the same clan).

Inter-village relationship is also characterized by mutual hostility expressed in the practice of warfare and the practice and accusation of destructive magic. In this regard, hostility and friendship alternate very frequently, or exist simultaneously, each being manifested in different social contexts. The people of a village do not classify other villages into hostile and friendly in a clear-cut and fixed manner. The relationship between one village and another is never exclusively hostile or friendly for a long period of time. At times, the people, or some of the people, of two or a few villages join to wage war, or perform destructive magic, against another village. But such alliances are of a transient nature.

A short account of the varieties, techniques, and rituals of destructive magic and warfare is as follows.

1. DESTRUCTIVE MAGIC

The Puang distinguish several types of destructive magic, the first three being for them the major ones.

i. Contagious Magic[1] (P.E. poison; A. nasi), in which things closely associated with a person, such as hair, nails, and left-over food, are fastened in a bundle and destroyed by placing the bundle, for instance, in a fire. It is believed that in fastening such things, the person's soul (A. himin) is 'fastened' (A. hasankakik) and in destroying the bundle his soul is fatally harmed. This magic is the most important destructive magic, especially in Puang and other Au villages to the north, in the sense that when deaths are explained by magic - as happens for the majority of deaths - they are most often, that is, in some 80% of cases,[2] explained by this magic. It is also the most developed destructive magic, having several distinct kinds of technique, such as the ground-hole technique, the tree-hole technique, the bamboo technique, and the coconut technique. These techniques have no local names.

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1. Following common usage, I have adopted the Frazerian terms 'contagious magic' and 'homoeopathic magic' in the present work. But, as will be explained (see also my M.Sc. thesis, pp.76-97, 253-258), more exact terms would seem to be metonymic (or contiguous) magic and metaphoric (or analogous) magic.
2. In the present chapter, the figures concerning the recorded cases of destructive magic and warfare are rough estimations. The cases will be fully examined, statistically and otherwise later.

To be exact, the term nasi does not mean 'contagious magic' in general, but refers to the magical bundle used in this magic.[1] The mild form of this magic, especially employed by MB against ZS as mentioned earlier, is not called nasi. In this form, the magician is merely said to have 'fastened' the victim, and not to have made nasi against him. It should also be added that, in its broad sense, contagious magic is a type of magic based on the principle of contiguity or metonymy and employed either destructively or productively. Puang productive magic, such as garden-magic and love-magic, is sometimes based on that principle, but is never called nasi.

As is the general rule with all types of magic, the knowledge and the practice of contagious magic is exclusive to men. Some minor exceptions to this rule are three magical spells: one to increase the amount of sago flour in sago-processing, one to accelerate the boiling of water in bamboo-tubes over a fire, and one to speed up the cooking of sago-jelly in bamboo-tubes over a fire. These spells are known, often exclusively, to women, as sago-processing and cooking food are women's daily and routine tasks.

ii. Pointing-Magic (A. manmin), in which a sharp object, such as a cassowary, or wallaby, or a flying fox's bone is placed in a magical bundle and secretly pointed at the victim three times. Nowadays, the object may also be a

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1. For an etymological analysis of the term nasi see pp.200-206.

razor blade, a match stick, or a wire. The object (or rather its 'soul') is believed to enter the victim's body; and in the healing ritual of this magic the healing magician gives the impression to the victim and others that he is taking the object (and not merely its 'soul') out of the victim's body. A person who uses pointing-magic may be very close - even less than a yard - or a few hundreds of yards away from the victim. Pointing-magic has a few distinct techniques, in a simple one of which a person merely puts the object in his mouth, while smoking, reciting a spell, and facing the nearby victim. In contrast with contagious magic, this magic, like all of the following types of magic, requires the recitation of magical spells. Strictly speaking, the term manmin refers to the object and its bundle, and not to pointing-magic in general or as a whole.

As the above description indicates, pointing-magic is the magical counterpart of shooting with arrows. The above-mentioned bones may also be used in making arrow-heads. In one of the techniques of this magic, the object used is a real arrow, which is placed in a magical bundle after shooting is carried out.

In the past pointing-magic was known and prevalent in southern, but not northern, Au villages. Recently it has reached Puang and other northern Au villages, perhaps

owing to closer relationship created by post-contact changes among the people in the area. At present, the Puang attribute only a small number of deaths and serious illnesses to this magic and tend to confine its role to minor and temporary illnesses, especially those causing bodily pains. They have some - not more than several - experts at this magic and its healing ritual who have all been trained in recent decades by their relatives in southern Au villages.

iii. Raiding-Magic (P.E. sanguma; A. hiwaak), in which the victim is attacked both magically and physically; and the attack is usually made, not by one man, but by a small group of men, who are called hiwaak (whether singular or plural). Raiding-magic is a combination of warfare, in one of its two forms, namely, the guerrilla raid (see below on warfare), and destructive magic. It is never used against anybody within the village and is invariably an inter-village magic. The number of deaths attributed to it - some 5% of deaths - is by far less than those ascribed to contagious magic.

What magicians do in raiding-magic, as described by magicians themselves, is briefly as follows. To begin with, a magical bundle, the same as that in contagious magic, is made and tightly fastened (without being destroyed) in order to weaken or sicken the victim.

Later the victim is ambushed in the forest and subjected to a variety of attacks. He is beaten with sugar canes (A. yinpa), his jaws are severely harmed, his genitalia (if it is a man) are painfully pressed, and he is gagged by inserting stones, vegetable matter, and so forth in his mouth. Thorns of sago, slivers of bamboo, or pieces of bone (of the same type as in pointing-magic) are inserted in his important joints and two sides of his neck, while an attempt is made not to cause any bleeding. The sharp objects are taken out afterwards to do contagious magic with later.

Slits are then made with a bamboo-knife (A. waten) in the victim's thigh (if it is a man) or upper arms (if it is a woman), and a very small amount of his blood is taken to be eaten ritually later, for success in hunting, with a highly secret magical mixture called kepna (A.). The wound caused by slitting, and probably by inserting the above sharp objects in the victim's joints and neck, is closed up and entirely removed by rubbing banana (its edible part) on his skin.

The victim, who is unconscious by now, is revived by a magical spell and expected to dance westward (west being associated with death). If he does not do so the above acts have to be repeated. After dancing, or going, towards the west, he is allowed to stagger home, where he will not

be able to recall what has happened to him and will die on the third day. His death is unavoidable, as this magic, unlike all other types of destructive magic, has no cure.

Raiding-magic, with minor variations and under different names, is wide-spread in Papua New Guinea as well as Australia and some other parts of Oceania; and its early anthropological reports are brief descriptions given by Codrington in 1891,[1] by Seligman in 1910,[2] and by Malinowski in 1915[3] and 1922[4]. But despite valuable contributions made more recently, its sociological aspect and its nature as a set of beliefs are still unclarified in some basic respects. This matter will be shown in detail later; here suffice it to make the following comments relevant to the present section.

In the literature, raiding-magic is, not unfrequently, conceived and referred to as 'ritual murder',

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1. R.H. Codrington, The Melanesians: Studies in Their Anthropology and Folklore, Oxford, pp.206-207.
2. C.G. Seligman, Melanesians of British New Guinea, Cambridge University Press, pp.170-171, 187-188.
3. B. Malinowski, 'The Natives of Mailu: Preliminary Results of the Robert Mond Research Work in British New Guinea', from Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of South Australia, Vol.39, p.649.
4. B. Malinowski, Argonauts of the Western Pacific, An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1964, (originally 1922), p.42.

'supernatural murder', 'murderous assault', 'uncompromizingly vicious', and the like.[1] But, needless to say, there is a difference between committing murder and waging war; and if this magic is assumed to be a type of murder the assumption needs to be substantiated rather than taken for granted, presumably on the basis of pacifist sentiments. As Puang data shows, and as the available evidence in the literature seems to indicate,[2] this magic is characteristically a form of war, a form of guerrilla raid, because it is usually and ideally practised against the enemy, against the out-group, not the in-group, whatever the out-group happens to be, such as a tribe, a district, or a village. In other words, it is practised against those whom one may also, willingly if not proudly, kill in an actual war.

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1. See for example Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op. cit., vol.2, p.1029; A.P. Elkin, 'Beliefs and Practices Connected with Death in North-Eastern and Western South Australia', in Oceania, Vol.7, 1936-37, pp.275-299.
2. R. Wagner, The Curse of Souw, Principles of Daribi Clan Definition and Alliance in New Guinea, The University of Chicago Press, 1967, pp.51-52; L.B. Glick, 'Medicine as an Ethnographic Category: The Gimi of the New Guinea Highlands', in Ethnology, 1967, p.41; R.M. Berndt, Excess and Restraint, Social Control Among a New Guinea People, the University of Chicago Press, 1962, p.223; W.L. Warner, A Black Civilization, A Social Study of an Australian Tribe, Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1958, Revised edition, pp.223, 243.

It is true that the people themselves picture raiding-magic as brutal and so forth. But, firstly, from this it does not follow that this magic is murderous. Everywhere human beings tend to give such an image of their enemy or at least of their enemy's hostile acts. Secondly, the people give this image only when they are, explicitly or implicitly, describing their enemy's practice of raiding-magic. As soon as the ethnographer truly succeeds in gaining the people's confidence and in getting them to admit performing this magic themselves and to describe their own performances of it freely and openly, the image given is the exact opposite. In describing to me their own performances of this magic against other villages, the Puang invariably gave the impression that there is nothing cruel, vicious, and unjustifiable about it; and when I directly asked them about the moral aspect of the matter, they defended themselves, in their own view, without difficulty and with a clear conscience:

> "This is just what they did to us. We were only retaliating. No, we did not feel pity for the victim. Why should we have had pity on him? He was not one of us ..."[1]

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1. In the current literature, the magic under consideration is usually referred to by its pidgin English name, that is, sanguma or sangguma. An English name suggested is 'assault sorcery' (Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op. cit., Vol.2, p.1029). Here the expression 'raiding magic' is used, as this magic resembles guerrilla raids and as we need, on the basis of what has just been said, a name more neutral than 'assault sorcery'.

iv. Tangket - Wild Taro Magic (A. Yurik tekaan). Yurik means tangket (P.E.) and tekaan a 'wild taro' (P.E. wail taro), both of which are shrubs, the first having colourful leaves. This magic has several techniques, in most of which a variety of wild taro is used, and in a few of which the leaves of tangket may be included. One of the techniques is, briefly, that slivers of the roots or the leaves of a wild taro are added to the victim's sago-flour which is usually kept in bamboo-tubes or baskets. The victim will be harmed after cooking and eating the sago. According to another technique, the same type of slivers are placed in the victim's path and hidden under tangket leaves or in a small hole dug in the gound. Tangket being a very common shrub, the existence of its leaves on a path does not look suspicious, especially if the magic is done in the right place. If a person other than the intended victim passes over the hidden slivers by chance a healing ritual can be performed for him. Other techniques of this magic are accompanied by magical spells.

Tangket and particularly wild taro are ritually significant in many contexts. Tangket is, for example, the only object used in the magic for delaying the sun-set.[1] There are some dozen uncultivated plants regarded

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1. See pp.454-55.

as varieties of wild taro. One of them, namely, napok haruwâ (A.), is closely associated with ghosts (A. haruwâ). Some of them, which are planted near the village site, are believed to be the 'skins' (A. iya) of hunting-spirits. The wild taro used in this magic apart from tekaan (A.), are, haak (A.), yipna (A.) and sangainâ (A.). In order to approach and handle the wild taro of this magic a person has to observe a number of taboos regarding sex and food. Sometimes an uncultivated shrub called suwairik (A.) is used instead of wild taro. Suwairik is also the subject of the same taboos, and is believed to be the transformation of a snake called manpan saak (A.).

Tangket-wild taro magic is said to have originally spread to other villages in the area from Bogasip, a Gnau-speaking village (see map 3). This magic is fully known and is of some importance in a minority of Au villages, such as Brugap, Anguganak, Yemnu, Tumentonik. In other Au villages, such as Puang and Nakil, the knowledge of it is, admittedly, limited and said to have derived from the Au villages which have specialists in this field.[1] In villages like Puang and Nakil, the

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1. The above description of this magic is partly based on data collected from Tumentonik informants.

practical importance of this magic is also limited. Out of a few hundred recorded cases of deaths and illnesses, only a few cases are explained by it.

v. Rattan-Magic. This magic has no name in the Au language. It is named 'rattan-magic' here as rattan (A. nepen) is the only object used in it. It has only one technique, according to which a very small and needle-like piece of rattan stem is secretly placed in the victim's path. The needle-like object, being so small and inconspicuous, is sometimes simply thrown near a person sitting on the ground, so that when he stands up to go he may pass over it. If somebody not intended to be the victim passes over it he could be cured by a healing ritual.

As can be seen, this magic is similar to one of the techniques of the preceding magic. A difference between the two is that this magic includes a magical spell. The illnesses believed to be caused by the two kinds of magic are also not dissimilar. The present magic causes pain and swelling in the feet and legs and the preceding one in the legs and stomach.[1] The healing rituals of the two kinds of magic are, however, as will be seen later, very different.

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1. These illnesses are not exclusively associated with the two kinds of magic under consideration and may be attributed to other factors, such as some of the spirits related to Singing Rituals.

We have seen that certain types of destructive magic are the magical counterpart of what is actually done in warfare, pointing-magic being the counterpart of shooting with arrows and raiding-magic of guerrilla raids. Rattan-magic with its needle-like piece of rattan seems to be the counterpart of the following tactic. In warfare, sometimes in the enemy's path a large number of sharp arrowheads are planted and covered by the existing vegetable material in or around the path.

In a sense, rattan-magic is also analogous to an actual rattan-trap by which wild pigs are sometimes killed. The spell of the magic is, as will be seen later, addressed to a particular wild pig. It is said that in the remote past that pig lived in the forest of the Nami village[1] and was in the habit of eating and destroying the root crops of gardens to an excessive degree. Thus the village people decided to kill the pig and they did so by making a rattan-trap in a location in the forest where the pig used to pass through. The pig became greatly offended by this, and since then its ghost has remained hostile towards human beings and wishes to take vengeance upon them. In the spell, the pig's ghost is called upon to harm the victim's legs and make him unable to move as the rattan-trap did to the pig itself.

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1. The Nami village is situated in South Wapei Census-Division (see map 2) and at the present time the language spoken there is not Au.

Rattan-magic, like pointing-magic, originally belonged to southern Au villages and is known only to some of the Puang specialists in destructive magic. In Puang death and long-term illnesses causing legs to swell severely are not attributed to it. For the Puang, its role is confined to a small number of cases of temporary and minor pains, swellings, and sometimes skin injuries in feet and legs, provided that these physical problems appear after the victim has made a trip to another village.

vi. Tulip-Magic. This magic has no name in the Au language either. It has only one technique and the things used in it are the dried leaves of tulip (P.E.; A. taruwâ), or rather of what is thought to be a special or extraordinary tulip. Its technique consists of reciting a spell and secretly placing a small piece of the dried leaves in a fire, in the intended village around which people have gathered. The results of this, it is believed, is that the smoke of the fire will harm and later kill the people around the fire; and afterwards when it rains, the water will spread the ashes and many more people will die in the village.

This magic is usually performed against a village when its people are having a Singing Ritual and have invited outsiders - as it is usually the case - to take part in the ritual. This is the best occasion for the

magic because at a Singing Ritual, which takes place during the night, the people crowd in one place and either sing and dance or gather at the fires made around the singing and dancing ground. The outsiders who carry out the magic must leave the village soon afterwards, as the smoke of the fire will harm them too.

There are two famous cases of tulip-magic remembered in Puang now. One of them occurred some years before 1935 (the time of a major earthquake) and the magic was, it is said, carried out by the people of Garoka, one of the hamlets of the Piem village, against the people of Witnikis, then a hamlet in Puang. At that time a Singing Ritual was being held in Witnikis and outsiders including the Garoka had been invited. It was because of this magic, it is believed, that soon afterwards many people died in Witnikis to an increasing degree, and consequently the inhabitants of this hamlet left it for good and built their present hamlet site, namely, Nikis.[1] The other case took place some ten years earlier and the magic was performed by the people of the Puang hamlet against the Witikin who had invited the Puang to a Singing Ritual held in their village. In this case there were not many deaths, because, it is said, after a small number

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1. See p.87.

of deaths the Puang decided to cure the Witikin by giving them ginger roots (A. nekip) to eat - something which the Garoka refused to do for the Witnikis.[1]

As can be seen, tulip-magic is believed to cause mass human destruction and is therefore, in a sense, the most dangerous destructive magic. It may be asked how Au people have come to hold this extraordinary belief, as in primitive societies a destructive magical performance is usually believed to cause only one or a few persons' death. This magic is, in fact, a way of explaining real conditions in which many people actually die in a short period of time in the same place. In other words, it is a way of making sense of some - though not necessarily all - of the epidemics which actually cause mass human destruction. The magical belief that because rain spreads the above-mentioned ashes many more people are killed is a way in which the contagious aspect of such epidemics is expressed and understood.-

It is said that tulip-magic originated in the Gnau-speaking village of Bogasip and the special tulip used in the magic exclusively belonged to the people of that village. But some Au people have also come into possession

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1. These ginger roots are often used in healing rituals, whether the illness concerned is attributed to magic or not. The roots are believed to make the patient 'cold'.

of the magic, like the Garoka and the Puang as cited above. The Puang obtained the spell of the magic and the dried leaves of that special tulip from the Au village of Yankok, which is not far from Bogasip.

REMARKS ON SOME OF THE OBJECTS USED IN DESTRUCTIVE MAGIC (SEE FIG. 1)

Contagious Magic

A is a magical bundle and is made as follows: Some personal belonging of the victim, the scrapings of the reddish bark of a tree called ton (P.E.; L. Pometia pinnata; A. henaan), and the scrapings of the green leaves of an edible shrub (eaten with tulip) called kumu gras (P.E.; L. Cyclosorus spp.; A. manwe) are placed on the green leaf of a type of nettle (A. haplak nekip). The nettle leaf with the above objects on it, is then firmly wrapped in a strong fibrous sheet, namely, the bast tissue (P.E. laplap bilong kokonas; A. wâ hitiin), of a coconut palm, tightly fastened by cords (a. pirik) made from a type of wail limbum (P.E.; A. hausa), and glued with the sticky sap (A. tapir wâhi) of the breadfruit tree.

Before wrapping the nettle leaf, a stick, made from bamboo, is also placed in it in such a way that part of the stick protrudes and forms the handle of the magical bundle. The handle is said to be necessary so that the

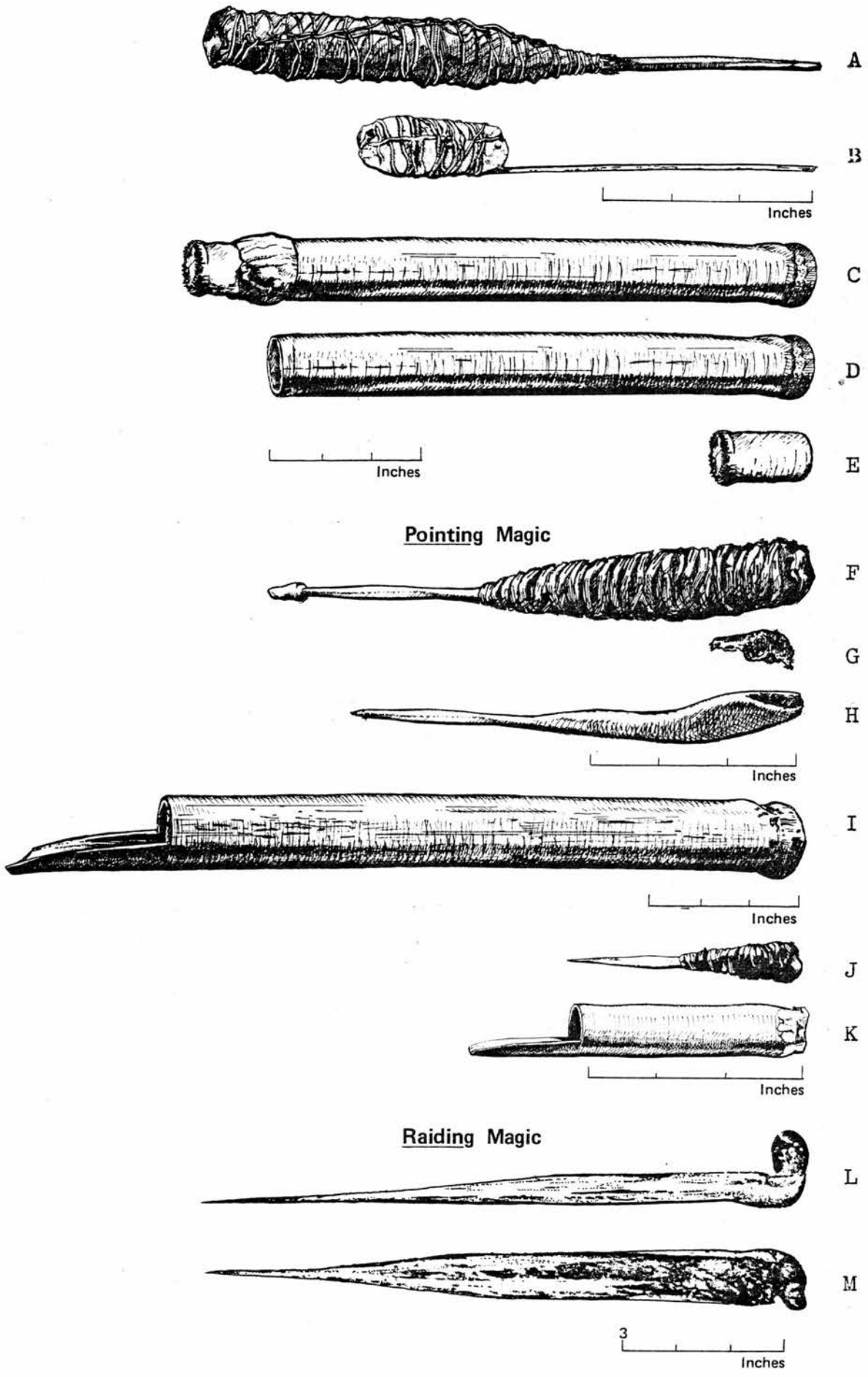


FIG. 1. Some of the objects used in Destructive Magic

magician can avoid touching the bundle after making it. In making the bundle he also must avoid touching its component parts as much as possible, and use objects such as a pair of fire-tongs (A. patei) in order to sieze or hold the parts. Too much handling of the bundle and its components is believed to be dangerous, as they may become suffused with the magician's own sweat (A. hapik), in which case the destruction of the bundle will harm him as well as the victim.

In making the magical bundle, the magician's intention is to fasten the victim or, to be more exact, to fasten the victim's soul:

Hi hasankakik (A.; e.g. I fasten him)
Hi hasankakik himin kirak (A.; E. I fasten his soul).

Since this is the intention, the bundle should be, as the Puang emphasize, bound very firmly. That is why the bundle is not only wrapped with a strong fibrous sheet, but also tied with wail limbum cords and glued with the sap of the breadfruit tree. The cords are very strong, and may be replaced by cords made from rattan (A. nepen), which are also very strong. The sap is the most sticky substance known in the area and may be mixed with the ashes of bamboo in order to make it more firm. The cords, both types, and the sap are also used in making bows and arrows (see below). If the bundle is loose (A. mamsuka) it will not be efficacious.

Thus some of the component parts of the magical bundle serve the purpose of fastening the victim's soul in a firm manner. The other parts, namely, the ton scrapings, the kumu gras scrapings, and the nettle leaf are, as the Puang say, intended to harm his soul. It is for this reason that these other parts are all of a harmful nature. Both kinds of scrapings, especially the ton ones, are pungent in taste. If a small piece of the ton scrapings drops in the eye it causes, as does soapy water, a sharp pain. Nettle leaves, particularly the type used here, are armed with prickly hairs which sting the skin when touched.

B is the same type of magical bundle as A. It differs from A in that it is smaller and its stick has been placed in it after, and not before, the wrapping in the fibrous coconut sheet. Unlike A, B was made by a man who was not a magical expert. Although all adult males usually know how to make the bundle used in contagious magic, experts are much more careful, if not sometimes meticulous, about the exactness of the details of the bundle. Experts said that B is not well made, especially because it is so small. Referring to its small size one expert scornfully said that it is good enough to be used by a mother's brother against his sister's son, meaning that it is too small to kill the victim. As

we know, when the mother's brother makes a magical bundle, he normally intends to sicken, and not to kill, his sister's son.

Magical bundle A or B, is used in the majority of the techniques of contagious magic. In one of the simple techniques, namely, the fire-technique, the bundle is placed in a large fire made in a place, such as the garden-house, near the garden in the forest. The fire does not arouse any suspicion, as burning the debris, caused by clearing undergrowth and felling trees, is part of gardening. To 'cook' (A. haam) the bundle means to 'destroy' by fire, or by heated stones and so forth used in other techniques:

> Hi hahim nasi muwaai si
> (A.; E. I cook the magical bundle [of contagious magic] in fire).

The destruction of the bundle is believed to cause the victim to 'suffocate', or more literally, to become 'breath-cramped' (A. nap masis).

C is the magical device used in one of the techniques of contagious magic, namely, the bamboo-technique. The two pieces of bamboo called here D and E are the main component parts of magical device C; which is made as follows. Magical bundle A is placed inside D and afterwards E is plugged in D. Then the join of D and E is covered at first by a dark brown sticky substance, from

the body of an insect called tirhiin (A.), and later by a fibrous sheet (P.E. laplap bilong buai; A. yimtak), from the betel nut tree.

Magical device C is intended to bind the victim's soul once more. The Puang stress that E should fit the open end of D very tightly, and that the join of D and E should be covered by the sticky substance and the fibrous sheet very firmly and completely. Later the device is secretly inserted in that part of the ceiling of the domestic house under which daily cooking is carried out, so that the fire keeps heating the device and 'cooking' its bundle, and consequently harming the victim and his soul. By this technique, unlike the fire-technique, the victim is believed to be harmed gradually.

Pointing Magic

F is a magical bundle, G a piece of bone from one of the magician's patrilineal ancestors, and H a cassowary bone, which may be replaced by that from the wallaby or the flying-fox. The bundle is made as follows. Bone G and part of bone H are placed on the green leaves of the shrubs called semi (A.) and meni (A.), covered by the leaves and fastened by wail limbum cords or cords made from rattan. Then the sharp and protruding end of bone H is inserted in a piece of ginger root (L. Zingiber officinale; P.E. kakawar; A. Kounou) which is yellow and

has a sharp taste. This type of ginger root is called and believed to be 'evil' (A. kounou anum; anum : evil) as against another type named and regarded as 'good' (A. kounou yaaim; yaaim : good). The piece of ginger root may or may not be added to the bundle.

Magical bundle F is made in order to 'shoot' the victim magically, that is, to point the bundle at the victim, in the belief that the 'soul' (A. himin) of the protruding bone or the ginger root will enter the victim's body and harm him. What makes this possible is said to be, on the one hand, a spell recited in performing pointing-magic, and on the other, the ancestral ghost associated with bone G in the bundle.

A brief comparison between magical bundle A made in contagious magic and magical bundle F will shed some light on their characteristics: firstly, bundle A is intended to harm the victim's soul within the bundle itself, and consequently the vegetable materials inside the bundle, namely, ton scrapings, kumu gras scrapings, and the nettle leaf, are harmful. But since this is not the intention behind bundle F, the vegetable materials of this bundle, that is, semi and meni leaves, are, significantly enough, harmless. The leaves are indeed not only harmless but also pleasant; they are scented and also used, as will be seen, in love-magic. Such leaves are chosen here in

order to attract, and not to harm, the ancestral ghost associated with bone G; a ghost whose help is necessary for the success of pointing-magic.

Secondly, for the purpose of harming the victim's soul within the bundle itself, bundle A is bound very firmly, that is, it is wrapped in a sheet, fastened by cords, and glued with the most sticky substance. But bundle F, not having such a purpose, is merely fastened by cords, and the fastening is not required to be very tight. Moreover, the cords of bundle F may be of a different kind. They may be made, not from wail limbum or rattan, but from tulip (P.E.; L. Gnetum gnemon; A. taruwâ). Tulip cords are, significantly enough, also used in love-magic.

Thirdly, the protruding part of bundle A is the harmless component of the bundle, is made of wood, and merely plays the rôle of a handle. But the same part of bundle F is the harmful component of this bundle, and is a bone to which an 'evil' ginger root with a sharp taste may be added.

In pointing-magic, magical bundle F is not pointed at the victim by itself. Before the pointing is done, the bundle is put in a magical device namely, I, in such a way that the sharp end of the bundle faces outwards. I, which is a section of a bamboo half cut on the top, is

not empty. It contains, in its bottom, a small amount of a very secret and important magical mixture, namely, kepna (A.), over which the magician has spat out a red liquid. The liquid results from betel nut being chewed with betel pepper and lime. The kepna consists of the scrapings of the following:

1. The leaves of a tall type of ginger (L. Alpinia; P.E. gorgor; A. yaaip). Betel nut is sometimes chewed with this ginger in daily life.
2. The bark of a tree called mistaknaa (A.; P.E. pos i got mosong).
3. A piece of bone from one of the magician's patrilineal ancestors.
4. A piece of bone from the cassowary, the wallaby or the flying fox.
5. The head of a venimous snake called manpan napin (A.). This snake is also associated with a hunting-spirit in Puang.
6. The scented bark of a tree called senakem (A.).
7. A piece of 'good' ginger root (A. kounou yaaim).
8. The leaves of a scented shrub called yairap (A.).
9. The leaves of semi (A.).
10. The leaves of meni (A.).

Magical bundle F is placed in magical device I because in this technique, which is the major technique of pointing-magic the intention is, as the Puang explain, not only

to shoot the victim magically, but also to draw his blood in a magical manner. While the device, with the bundle in it, is being pointed at the victim, it is believed that his blood, or rather the 'soul' (A. himin) of his blood, is also being drawn out into the kepna, with the help of the above-mentioned ancestral bone in the kepna. Thus after the act of pointing is carried out the kepna is believed, animistically speaking, to contain the victim's blood. In this regard note that the kepna actually appears to be mixed with blood, as the above red liquid is spat on it before performing the act of pointing.

The reader will recall that mixing the kepna with the victim's blood is also one of the purposes of raiding-magic. In this respect raiding-magic differs from pointing-magic in that in the former what is taken out of the victim and mixed with the kepna is his actual blood. This difference is, however, immaterial in the context of the Paung animistic world-view, as will be seen in what is said below.

The kepna, after being combined with the victim's blood or the blood's soul, is used for a number of significant purposes:

1. In pointing-magic, when magical shooting is carried out, part of its kepna may be used

to do contagious magic against the victim. This seems to indicate that, for the Puang, the kepna of pointing-magic 'really' contains the victim's blood, as contagious magic can be done only with something which is either part of the victim's body or closely associated with his body.

2. Part of the kepna of pointing-magic is eaten whenever this magic is intended to be performed; in the belief that, in the magician's body, this magical mixture, especially its ancestral bone, will help him to perform his magical act successfully. The kepna, of both pointing- and raiding-magic, does not decay and is usually kept in a hidden place for a considerable length of time.
3. Part of the kepna, whether of pointing- or raiding-magic, may be eaten by a man who intends to go hunting. Like the above case, it is believed that, in the man's body, this magical mixture, especially its ancestral bone, will help him to hunt successfully.
4. Sometimes healing magicians eat a large amount of the kepna, while observing certain food taboos and chewing a large amount of betel nuts with betel pepper and lime; and claim that,

as a result, their eyes become 'clear' (A. naam maten) enabling them to see ghosts and to identify magical killers.

J is a magical bundle, of the same type as magical bundle F but smaller than the latter. K is a magical device, of the same type as magical device I but smaller than the latter. What has been said about F and I and their connection also applies to J and K. The difference between J and K on the one hand and F and I on the other lies in their usage. The former set is used when the victim is in close vicinity to the magician, sometimes even less than a yard; whereas the latter set when the victim is a few hundreds of yards away from the magician.

Raiding-Magic

As we have seen earlier, in raiding-magic the victim is attacked both magically and physically, and the magical aspect of this attack consists of reciting a spell to enable the victim to go home, and performing contagious magic before or after the physical attack. Thus, as far as the magical aspect of raiding-magic is concerned, the objects used in it are the same as those employed in contagious magic.

It is no accident that raiding-magic is so dependent on contagious magic. The latter magic is the only Puang magic which explicitly and directly aims at the destruction

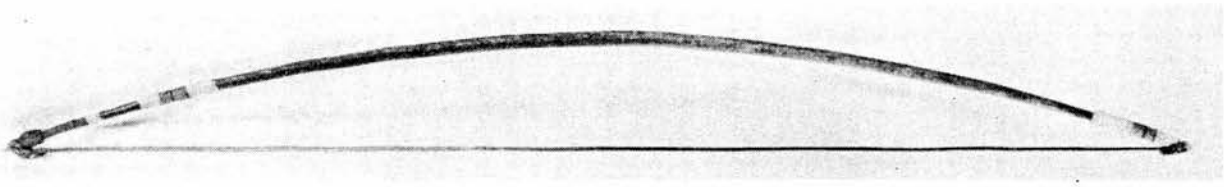
of the victim's soul, that is, the very essence of his life. Pointing-magic is also partly dependent on contagious magic. As we have just seen, after the victim has been magically shot, contagious magic may be performed on part of the kepna containing his blood.

In raiding-magic, the object used for physical attack may be the sugar-cane, which is conceived to be analogous to a bone. Sugar-canes, representing the bones of the body, are included in certain spirit-images made for Singing Rituals. The objects may also be actual bones, from the cassowary, the wallaby, or the flying fox.

L and M are two sides of a dagger (A. yirak), which is the sharpened bone of the lower part of a cassowary's leg. This dagger, which is the only type of dagger in the Au area, is used for physical attack in this magic; an attack not intended to kill the victim by itself. The dagger is also hung on a boy's back in puberty rites, and used for the purpose of wounding, and not killing, an adulterer.

2. WARFARE

Unlike destructive magic, warfare has ceased since the Australian administration took effective control over the area, that is, roughly speaking, from the late 1940s onwards. Since then raiding-magic, which is as much a



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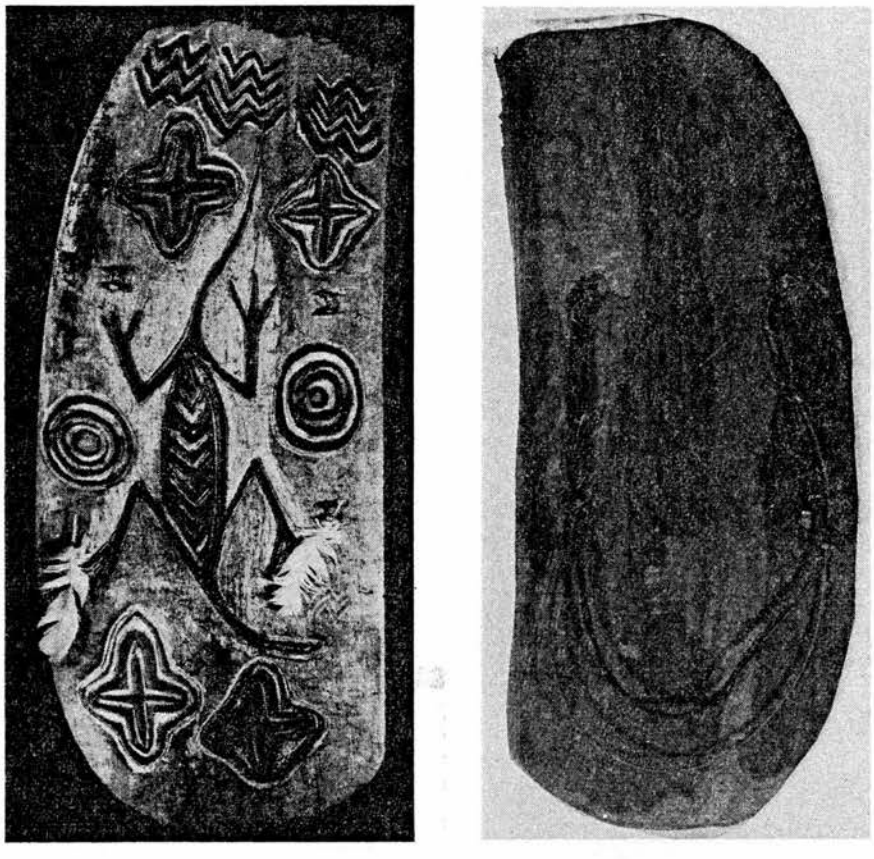

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Plate 3

A Bow (A. *hena ka hanmik*). The stave is made from a tree, a type of *wail limbum* (P.E. ; A. *hena*). The string is rattan (A. *nepen*), and covered with a black paint (A. *hapin*). The plaited and darker cords, five pieces at top and two pieces at bottom, are *bitau* (A.), and the unplaited cords, at top and bottom each two pieces, are *mukri* (A.).

A Shield (A. *nopan*). It is made from the New Guinea walnut tree (A. *wapen*). The patterns, including the lizard figure, are carved in relief, and painted black, red and white. The lizard is the species called *pawan hiris* (A.), and the white feathers on its feet are from white cockatoo (A. *hiika*). The cords on the back of the shield are rattan. This shield is of Au villages to the south, such as Waren. In the Puang's shield, instead of the figure of the lizard, there is a design which is, in a reduced size, drawn here.

form of warfare as of magic, does not appear to have been practised either, although every Au village is still frightened of it and accuses other villages of practising it. The following account is based on data collected from elderly informants, in Puang and some other Au villages, who had participated in warfare or observed it in their youth.

Warfare is not as important as destructive magic, in the sense that when the former was practised the number of deaths caused by it were, as the available evidence shows some five percent of those attributed to the latter. This is not, however, the impression one gets when one starts to inquire about warfare. Elderly informants, at least when they are not in a cargoist mood, show a great deal of pride in their past wars and consequently exaggerate the frequency of the wars, the number of enemies killed, and so forth. One Puang informant, for instance, started by saying:

> "We were always willing to go to war against other villages. Yes, we did wage war every month. We killed many more of them than they did of us. We killed five of the Piem and lost only two. We killed five of the Tumentonik and lost only one. The Wititai killed one of us and we ten of them. The Yemnu killed one of us and we ten of them ..."

But, later, detailed data of actual wars showed that such statements tell us more about traditional pride in warfare

and victory than the actual characteristics of inter-village wars.

Two types of warfare may be distinguished. On the one hand, there are formal battles, in which all the able-bodied adult males of the villages concerned are expected to take part, and the time and the place of the fighting are arranged in advance. The arrangement is made by striking slit-gongs (see Fig. 6), a few of which exist in every village, and thus sending rythmical messages from one village to another. On the other hand, there are guerrilla raids, in which one or a small number of men make unexpected and sudden attacks on the enemy village, or where the enemy is (or are) working, that is, gardening, hunting, sago-pounding, and so forth, in the forest.

In contrast to guerrilla raids, killing the enemy is not often the purpose of formal battles, which may be arranged merely to make a protest or establish a village's pride and prowess. That is why in battles a great deal of challenging and verbal abuse may be exchanged, and arrows may either not be directly aimed at the enemy or merely aimed at the enemies' legs and arms, with the intention of injuring and not killing. One of the abusive expressions used is "you raw meat-eaters". In many types of context, the Puang express the belief that eating cooked meat (and cooked food in general) is a characteristic of being truly human and only animals and ghosts eat raw meat.

Guerrilla raids may sometimes cause much fear and anxiety, as their purpose is usually killing and the time and the place in which they take place cannot be predicted exactly. When the people of a village feel, for one reason or another, that the enemy are planning to make a raid on them, they try to take many precautionary measures.

Two bamboo-fences are made round the village site. A few men are asked to guard the site as watch-men in shifts. At night, men all try to be in the village and remain together by sleeping in the men's ceremonial houses (in normal conditions, a number of men may not return to the village at night and instead sleep in their garden-houses, or return but sleep in domestic houses with their wives). In the morning, before leaving for the forest, men close the doors of domestic houses tightly and place marks, such as pieces of wood or bamboo, on the doors, so that at the end of the day when they go back to the village they can tell if strangers have been there to loot.

There are further precautionary measures. The people try not to go to the forest individually. When women and children are going there, men always accompany them. A wife does her sago-pounding in the forest while her husband is guarding her. Women and children are asked to

make very little noise when in the forest, lest the enemy come to hear it. Men leave the village for work, gardening, fishing, and hunting, as much as possible collectively; and carry not only bows and arrows but also shields. More often than in normal conditions, nuclear families share one garden plot, and while some of the members of these families work in the garden, others try to keep watch. Garden plots are made not only not too far from the village but also not too close to the enemy's land. When in the forest, men are on the watch for the enemy's foot-prints; and if they find his foot-prints they follow them in order to attack the enemy before being attacked.

Guerrilla raids and especially formal battles tend to take place in the dry season, which is climatically more suitable than the wet season and in part of which the people are freed from major gardening activities. Likewise, destructive magic is mainly practised in the dry season; although the frequency of magical accusations may be high in any part of the year depending on the number of deaths and illnesses occurring. In destructive magic a major belief is that magical bundles should not become wet, otherwise they will be ritually 'cold' and lose their efficacy. When a magician decides to cease harming his victim, he simply places the magical

bundle in water. Also, after performing magic it is taboo for the magician to bathe and to stand in a heavy rain for a while, otherwise he will become ritually cold and consequently the victim will become cold and cured. It is true that in tulip-magic rain is necessary to spread the ashes of the fire on which magic is done. But firstly, as we have seen, this magic is usually performed in Singing Rituals, the most suitable time for which is the dry season. Secondly, rain is not rare in the dry season, which is only not so wet as the wet season.

In warfare, of both types, the aim is not to destroy the enemy entirely, but to kill one or at most, though rarely, a few persons, the number of deaths being intended to be equal, if the war is retaliatory, with the number of deaths inflicted by the enemy in an earlier war. Men are not taken away as prisoners, and women are not sexually assaulted or captured and retained as wives. At times women, especially unmarried ones, are killed; and the reason given is that women bear male children and consequently strengthen the enemy (the same reason is also given for 'killing' women of other villages by magic). Thus when a woman is attacked, the attack is not made on her as a woman, but, however indirectly, on men.

Nor is the aim of warfare to destroy, or get possession of, the enemy's property to a major extent. Property is

damaged only sometimes and the damage usually consists of setting fire to one or more houses, in the village or gardens, and shooting one or more domestic pigs, dogs, or chickens. If looting occurs it includes things such as domestic animals (after being shot), men's personal hand-drums (P.E. kundu; A. wâkenpt) used in Singing Rituals, and minor household belongings. At the present time, the Puang have a hand-drum and a wooden food bowl (A. sar) which are said to have been taken away from the Tumentonik village in time of war. At times the enemy are driven out of their village or forest land, only to be allowed to return soon afterwards. In the recent past, the Puang did so to the Tumentonik and the Yankok to the Yil-speaking people of the Wublagil village.

To occupy the enemy's territory is not economically of vital necessity, as land is traditionally abundant in the area. Nor can it be done without great risks, thanks to certain strongly-held beliefs. In the Puang's view, the territory of a people, living in a village, is guarded by their ancestors, who are, like their hunting-spirits, believed to be residing there. If a group of outsiders occupy the territory by force the hunting-spirits are believed not to give the group their essential help for victory in warfare and especially hunting, and the ancestors are believed to destroy the group by causing

many deaths, frequent illnesses, and what are apparently unfortunate accidents. On the occupied land the outsiders will fall from trees, find insufficient fish in rivers, cut themselves with their bamboo-knives and stone-adzes, and die of snake bites, especially that of a venomous snake called manpan siurp (A.; small-eyed snake). Such misfortunes are believed to be really caused by the ancestors of the owners of the land. Moreover, the outsiders will find themselves near the ghosts of the persons whom they have killed in order to occupy the land. The ghosts are believed to be able, because of close vicinity to their killers, to take vengeance upon them easily and thus kill them sooner or later.

No compensation is accepted for the deaths caused in warfare between villages (the same is true of destructive magic). The enemy should be retaliated upon. Retaliation is, among other things, a matter of honour. After defeat in war the men of the defeated village feel, as the Puang say, ashamed, not only in relation to the enemy, but also, and perhaps particularly, in relation to the women of their own village. The women may, it is said, shame men openly (in words) after a defeat, and demand that they take retaliatory action. This is, perhaps, the reason why after victory in war, men bring a tangible and solid evidence of their victory to the village. After a victory,

an enemy's lower leg (if it is a man) or lower arm (if it is a woman) is brought to the village, hit or shot with arrows and spears by children, women, and elderly men, and later buried or thrown away in water or in the forest.

In the village a man shows his pride in having killed an enemy by wearing the hornbill's head on his back (hung by stems of rattan) on the occasions of many collective rituals, such as puberty rites and particularly Singing Rituals. At present, there is still a man in Puang who does so, claiming that he has killed a person from another village in the past. The number of the heads worn are in accord with the number of enemies killed.

Victory in formal battle, and in guerrilla raids when it is not intended to remain secret, is usually celebrated in public. On returning to their village, men strike the slit-gong and declare their victory to adjacent villages and hold a Singing Ritual for singing and dancing. The types of Singing Rituals which may be performed on this occasion are called megesi (A.), haruwâ uwa (A.), and haruwâ kika (A.).

After retaliation has been carried out, provided that both sides wish to make peace and have agreed that the deaths caused in warfare have been equalized, peace

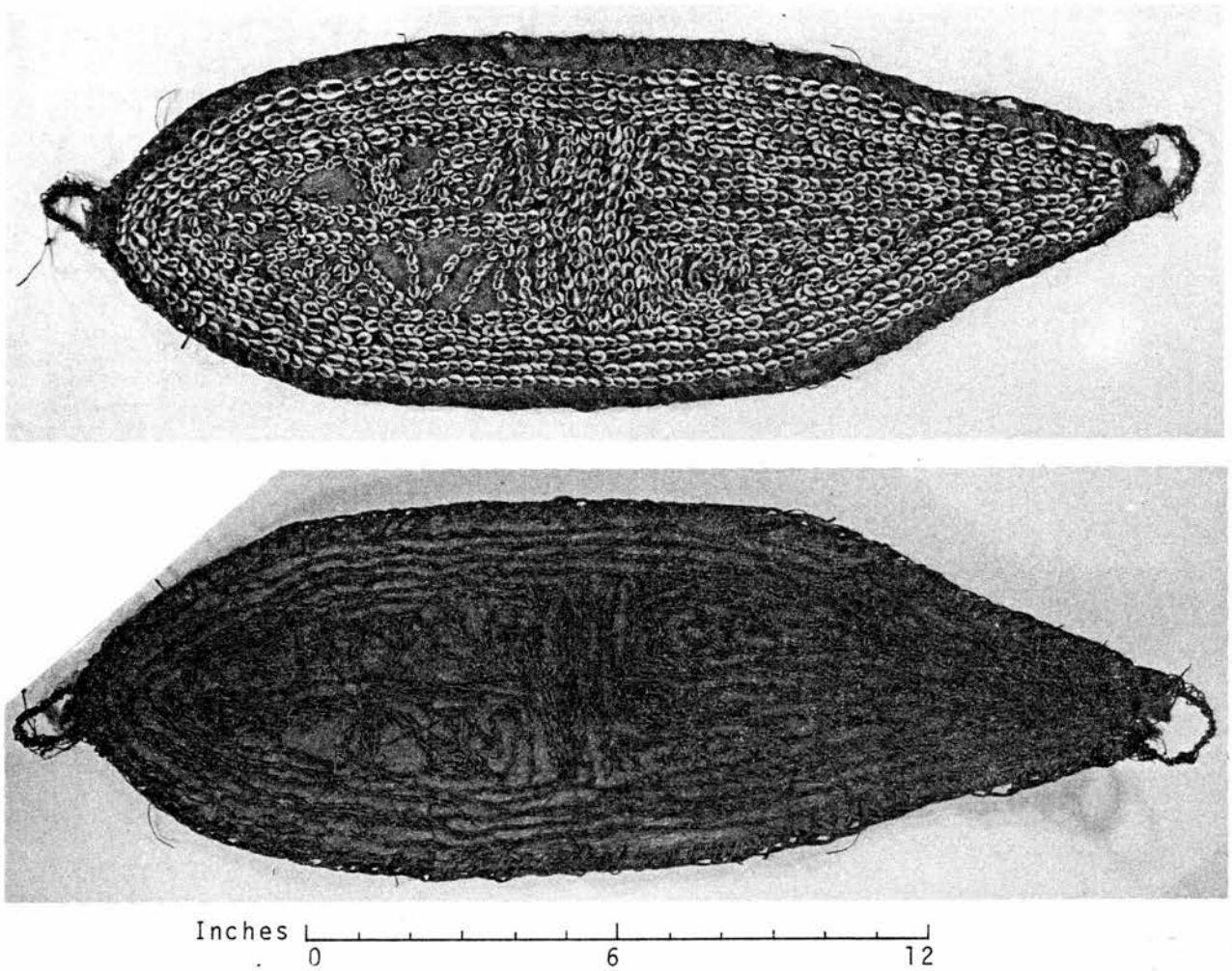

Plate 4 **Suwau** (A.) and its two sides. It is a strong fibrous sheet made of the bast tissue of a coconut palm (P.E. *laplap bilong kokonas*; A. *wa hitiin*). The sheet is decorated with the small shell rings called *takei* (A.) and *takanik* (A.), embroidered with strings (A. *pirik*) made from the bark of a type of *wail limbum* (P.E.;A. *hausa*), and edged with cords of rattan. This *suwau* is not old, although it was not newly-made for the sake of the present writer. My old informant, Heikne, found it almost repulsive, and believed that the designs and decorations were very badly made.

Suwau is part of the bride-wealth, and used in 'buying' a piece of land. It is also exchanged in the peace-making ritual, which may be performed after a homicide or warfare.

may be achieved through a peace-making ritual. The men of two sides meet in a pre-arranged and safe place in the forest, and exchange the same kinds and number of shell rings, including a suwau (A.; see plate 4). Having done so, they spit on a banana leaf and break it in two, and each side eats the food cooked and brought by the other. Then the ghosts of the killed persons are talked to, assuring them that they have been honoured and their deaths have been avenged, and asking them not to attempt to take vengeance any longer.

REMARKS ON ARROWS AND SPEARS (See Figs.1 and 2 and Table 9)

Arrows, Spears, and Magical Objects

As Figures one and two show, there is a striking resemblance between the objects used in destructive magic on the one hand, and arrows and spears on the other. The objects are long, thin, and often tapering, and some of them give the impression of being arrowheads, or arrows and spears in miniature. Moreover, the resemblance in question exists not only in form, but also in component parts. The following are used in making magical objects as well as arrows:

1. Bamboos in magical bundles A and B; magical devices C, I and K; and the heads of arrows Nos. 1, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 11.

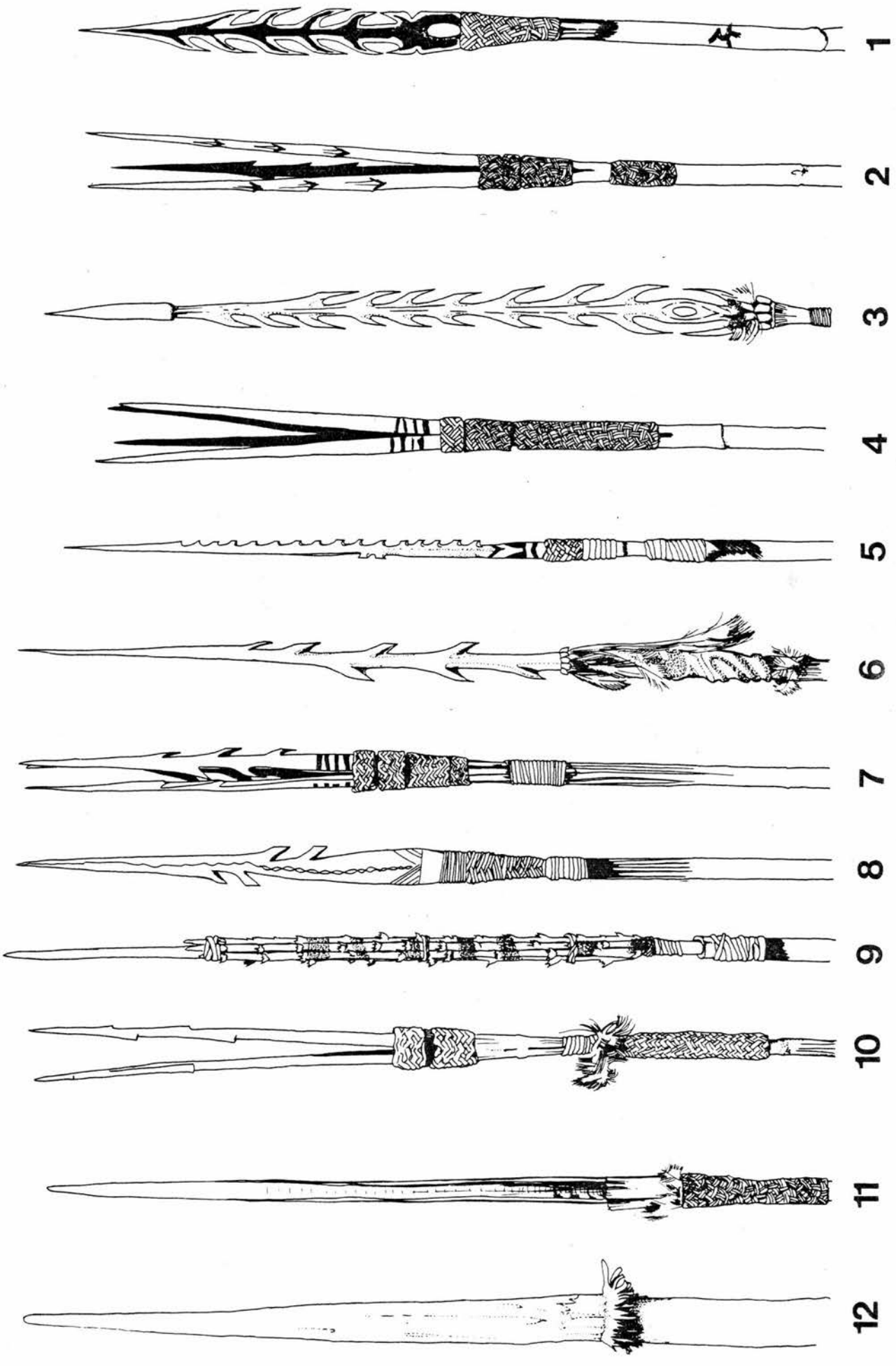

FIG 2 : ARROWS AND SPEARS

Au NAME	USED FOR	SHAFT (l. in inches)*	HEAD (l. in inches)*	BOUND WITH	GLUE	PAINT	FEATHERS	BEAD–LIKE ORNAMENTS
1. *Tanwik*	war; wounding adulterer	of reed 47	single barbed point; of bamboo 10¼	plaited cords No. 1 or No. 2	sap of bread-fruit tree and ashes of bamboo	red and black	red; from a lory	
2. *Tekaab yaaim*	hunting marsupials and birds; girls' puberty rites	" 49¼	three-pronged and barbed; of *wail limbum* (P.E.; A. *hena*) 12	plaited cords No. 3. plaited cords No. 1 (two pieces)	"	–	–	–
3. *Tenau*	war	" 44	single barbed point; of betel nut tree; tipped with bone (of wallaby's leg) 16½	plaited cords No. 1	"	red, white & black	red; from a lory and yellow; from cockatoo	of a plant (A. *termeyak*)
4. *Tekaab yahapim*	marsupials and birds	" 40	four-pronged; of bamboo 11½	plaited cords No. 3; plaited cords No. 1 (two pieces)	"	–	–	–
5. *Yayrapen*	war; hunting pigs and cassowaries	" 42	single point, partly barbed; of betel nut tree 13	plaited cords No. 1; unplaited cords No. 1 and No. 3	"	–	–	–
6. *Hanmik wakapen*	war; wounding adulterer	" 51¾	single barbed point; of betel nut tree 17½	plaited cords No. 2	"	red, white & black	red; from a lory and yellow; from cockatoo	"

* length in inches

(cont.)

TABLE 9. Arrows and Spears

Au NAME	USED FOR	SHAFT (l. in inches)*	HEAD (l. in inches)*	BOUND WITH	GLUE	PAINT	FEATHERS	BEAD-LIKE ORNAMENTS
7. *Tekaab yahas mowim*	marsupials and birds	of reed 51½	three pronged and barbed; of bamboo 11¾	plaited cords No. 1 (four pieces); unplaited cords No. 2	sap of bread-fruit tree and ashes of bamboo	–	–	–
8. *Kanpu*	marsupials and birds	" 59½	single barbed point; of bamboo 11½	plaited cords No. 1; plaited cords No. 3; unplaited cords No. 3	"	–	–	–
9. *Miak siip*	war; wounding adulterer	" 46	single point, of bamboo; covered by naturally barbed spiny stems of rattan 16	plaited cords No. 1; unplaited cords No. 2	"	red	red; from a lory	of a plant (A. *termeyak*)
10. *Tekaab yaaim*	marsupials and birds	" 48½	two-pronged and barbed; of *wail limbum* (P.E.; A. *hena*) 15	plaited cords No. 1 (three pieces); unplaited cords No. 3	"	–	–	–
11. *Hanmik puwuk*	war; hunting pigs and cassowaries	" 48½	single point; of bamboo 17	plaited cords No. 2; unplaited cords No. 2	"	–	brown; from the bird: *yurapa* (A.)	" (may have)
12. *Perper* (spear; all other arrows)	war; hunting pigs and cassowaries	– 60½	 10¼	–	–	–	–	–

*length in inches

TABLE 9. Arrows and Spears (continued)

2. The sticky sap of the breadfruit tree and the ashes of bamboo to glue magical bundles A and B, and the heads of all types of arrows.
3. The cords (A. pirik) made from a type of wail limbum (P.E.; A. hausa) to fasten magical bundles A, B, F, and J, and the heads of arrows Nos.2, 4, 5, 8 and 10. These cords are named cords No.3 in Tables 8 and 9.
4. The bone of the wallaby, which may sometimes be replaced by that of the cassowary or the flying fox, in magical bundles F and J, the dagger of raiding-magic, and arrow No.3.
5. A dark brown sticky paste, from the body of an inedible insect (A. tirhiin), to glue magical device C, and the bead-like ornaments of arrows Nos.3, 6, 9 and 11.

As the reader will recall, this is not the first time that we have drawn attention to the resemblance between destructive magic and warfare. In this regard, resemblances in technique and ritual have already been referred to a number of times. In general, we have attempted to discuss destructive magic and warfare here in their relationship with each other. The same applies to the social contexts of the two discussed below. In Puang,

these two social phenomena are two sides of the same coin; they are two forms of attack, one animistic and the other physical. Destructive magic is an animistic attack in two respects. Sometimes it is animistic in the sense that the direct target of the attack is the victim's soul: in contagious magic the victim's body is harmed only as a result of his soul having been fastened and harmed. And sometimes in the sense that the means by which the victim is practically atttacked is the 'soul' of an object: in pointing-magic what is inserted in the victim's body is not the pointed object itself but its supposed soul.

A comparison between destructive magic and warfare may shed a significant light on the characteristics of the former - a point often neglected in anthropological studies of magic. We have seen that raiding-magic will be better understood if it is taken as a form of guerrilla raid; that pointing-magic must be conceived as the magical counterpart of shooting with arrows; and that, in rattan-magic, the planting of a needle-like piece of rattan on the victim's path will be more understandable if one comes to know that it is an imitation of one of the tactics of warfare, namely, the planting of arrowheads on the enemy's path.

To give a further example of the light which warfare may throw on destructive magic. As we have seen, in its

major form pointing-magic is an attempt, in an animistic manner, not only to shoot the victim but also to draw his blood. The question thus arises why this magic, which is basically intended to shoot the victim, is also concerned with drawing his blood. In other words, why this magic, which is the counterpart of shooting with arrows, should deal with something else as well. The answer seems to lie in the fact that shooting with arrows is also concerned with taking blood, namely, the enemy's blood. After an enemy is killed with the bow and arrow, the arrow is, if circumstances allow, pulled out of his body and taken to the village. Moreover, the enemy's blood on the arrow is, like the victim's blood in pointing-magic, added to the magical mixture called kepna, and eaten for success in hunting.

Other Remarks

The white paint on arrows Nos.3 and 6 is lime (P.E. kambang; A. ta), with which betel pepper and betel nut are chewed in daily life. The red paint on arrows Nos.1, 3, 6 and 9 is called senane mona (A.), from the seed (or fruit) of a plant with the same name. The black paint on arrows Nos.3 and 6 is hapin (A.), from a shrub with the same name. The hapin is similar to a nettle and is, like the latter, used in healing rituals.

The lory, whose red feathers are used in arrows Nos.1, 6 and 9, is the Greater streaked lory (L. Chalcopsitta scintillata; A. wunwunan). The red feathers of a parrot, namely, Riedel's eclectus parrot (L. Lorius roratusriedeli; A. meraken), are sometimes used instead. The lory and parrot are frequently referred to in rituals. Arrow No.1 does not have any feathers. But experts say that it should be decorated with the feathers of the Greater streaked lory. The feathers of the arrows had been longer and more conspicuous than what are seen in Figure 2, but they were damaged on the way to the United Kingdom. The cockatoo, the yellow parts of whose feathers are used in arrows Nos.3 and 6, is the White Cockatoo (L. Cacatu galerita triton; A. hiika), and is the subject of certain mythical and totemic beliefs. The bird yurapa (A.) with whose brown feathers arrow No.11 is decorated, is associated with the Witikin village (see Table 8).

The bead-like ornaments (A. termeyak) of arrows Nos.3, 6, 9 and 11 are white and made from an inedible plant (A. termeyak). Other bead-like ornaments, namely, sak pankaura (A.), which are green and made from the back of a ground-dwelling and wingless insect (A. pankaura), may be used instead. Cords No.1 (A. nii) are made from the same plant as armbands (P.E. paspas; A. bitau) in Puang.

An armband is a self-decoration worn by both men and women in many Singing Rituals and sometimes in daily life. Cords No.2 (A. nii) are made from a creeper (or vine) called mukri (A.) or mukri waai (A.). Armbands may also be made from mukri. Cords No3 (A. pirik) are, as mentioned above, made from a type of wail limbum.

In girls' puberty rites, the girl's mother's brother takes his bow and arrow No.2 and gives the impression that he is shooting at the moon. He does not actually shoot the arrow but only moves it forward in the direction of the moon three times. By this act, it is believed, the mother's brother warns the moon not to make the girl discharge too much blood in her menstruation. (The moon is associated with menstruation.) After arrow No.2 is used in this way, it is put aside for future girls' puberty rites, as its further employment in hunting is believed to be harmful.

Arrows Nos.5 and 11 and spear No.12 are used both to kill men and to hunt pigs and cassowaries. The reason why man, the pig, and the cassowary are placed in the same group here is simply that the last two are the only big game in the area and, in size, the closest animals to man. Arrows Nos.2 and 10 are named Tekaab Yaaim (A.; yaaim: good or beautiful) because, it is said, their heads are made of the wail limbum called hena (A.).

Spear No.12 is not a good example of the Puang spears. It is bare of elaborate carving and any decoration. It was, unlike all the arrows, made for the sake of the present writer and in a hasty manner. Spears are, however, undoubtedly less important than arrows. The Au names of other types of spear are: 1. Wiyar, 2. Yipo Tekaal, 3. Wokrapie, 4. Hehanu, 5. Henhen. The Au names of further varieties of arrows not described here are: 1. Nurik, 2. Timir, 3. Yahasar, 4. Yisarka.

3. THE SOCIAL CONTEXTS OF DESTRUCTIVE MAGIC AND WARFARE

We have given a short account of inter-village destructive magic and warfare. A detailed examination of the two, their social contexts, and their over 200 recorded cases will be made later. What we need to add here is a brief characterization of their social contexts in relation to the present chapter, and a few recorded cases as examples. The following characteristics, mentioned in order of importance, are sometimes concerned, not with different types of context, but with different aspects of the same context.

i. Village Solidarity. The general reason given for most cases of magic (destructive) and especially of warfare is village solidarity. For instance, when the Puang

engage in a formal battle with another village and kill one of its members, the reason given is "we did so because they had killed one of us before". When a person dies in another village and the Puang are accused of having caused it by magic, if soon afterwards a Puang happens to die, the Puang may say: "They thought we killed one of them by magic. Now they have retaliated".

But the principle of village solidarity is not applied without discrimination. As will be seen, at times some of the people living in two villages are related to each other patrilineally. When man 'A' in one village and man 'B' in another village are so related, 'A' and 'B' will not normally resort to the practice or accusation of magic against each other. Nor will they normally try to kill each other with bows and arrows. If their villages engage in a formal battle, they may well take part in it, but they will not aim their arrows at each other. If some of the people in A's- village decide to make a guerrilla raid on B's village with the intention of killing 'B', 'A' will not join the raid. When the raiders intend to kill, not any particular person, but any person belonging to B's village, 'A' may join the raid: but if the victim happens to be 'B', 'A' will refrain from killing him and may well try to stop others from doing so.

In the situations just described, A's fellow villagers find his behaviour understandable and not unexpected. As shown below, what is said here about patrilineal relatives is also, partly or wholly, true of some other types of relatives living in different villages.

ii. Affinal. Apart from being discriminating, the principle of village solidarity does not often fully explain inter-village attacks, made in warfare and expecially in magic. The attacks may be based not only on a general reason, namely, village solidarity, but also, and sometimes exclusively, on particular reasons, such as conflict between clans, or between particular persons, belonging to different villages. In other words, inter-village attacks may take place on various levels, the village-level, the clan-level (clans related affinally or matrilaterally), and the personal level. For example, when two persons who happen to be affines die in different villages, their deaths may be explained by the people in terms of one or more of the following reasons. The persons were killed by magic due to the (a) feud between their villages, (b) affinal conflict between their clans or the persons themselves, (c) minor and petty conflict between the persons themselves. As will be seen below, in the chapters on kinship and marriage, almost half of all

marriages take place between villages, and affines are prone to conflict over matters such as the bride-wealth and annual gift-exchanges.

Although affines[1] may resort to the practice or accusation of magic (excluding raiding-magic) against each other, they very rarely try to kill each other. As with patrilineal relatives, when their villages are at war, in formal battle or during guerrilla raids, they either do not take part in the war or do not aim their arrows at one another. There are only a few cases in which a man has killed his sister's husband.

iii. Matrilateral. A man ought not to kill, or to perform magic against, his matrilateral relatives (whether such relatives live in a different village or not) under any circumstances. This principle is, as will be seen, backed by certain strongly held beliefs. There is, in fact, no case in which a man has killed or has practised, or has been accused of practising, magic against his close matrilateral relatives. But a man may well be the target of magic (excluding raiding-magic) performed by people matrilaterally related to him, especially his mother's brother. There is also a case in which a mother's brother has killed his sister's son with an arrow.

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1. That is, affines not residing in the same village. Note that throughout the present comments on magic and warfare, we are concerned with relatives, patrilineal, affinal, and so forth, who are not living in the same village.

In the short account of intra-village magic given earlier, we have seen that when somebody dies his affines (of the same village) are hardly ever accused of magic and his matrilateral relations (of the same village) are very rarely accused. But in inter-village magic, the number of deaths attributed to magic believed to be performed by matrilateral and especially affinal relatives is considerable. Thus a person's attitude towards both his matrilateral and particularly affinal relatives seems to differ significantly according to whether he is living in the same village as they are or not. This should not be surprising as people living in the same village are, thanks to village solidarity, less prone to conflict, and more lenient with regard to the exacting of kinship rights and obligations, than are those belonging to different villages.

iv. Retaliatory. At least half of the deaths caused in warfare or attributed to magic are concerned with retaliation. What makes retaliation a rather prevalent and many-faceted issue is that, firstly, magic can be retaliated by warfare and vice versa. Secondly, no compensation is accepted for the deaths caused in warfare or attributed to magic. Thirdly, a person may be retaliated upon not only for his own wrongdoings, but also, to a lesser or greater degree, for those carried out by

the living and dead members of his village,[1] especially when these members relate to him patrilineally or matrilaterally. Fourthly, retaliation frequently leads to a vicious circle. For example, in a guerrilla raid the people of village 'A' kill 'H', one of the people of village 'B' and claim: "This was just retaliation, as a year ago you made a raid and killed one of us". The 'B' people do not accept this claim and argue:

> "It is true that we killed one of you a year ago, but that was because you had already killed one of us by magic some time earlier. Divination techniques confirmed that the magic had been done by you."

The 'A' people honestly reject this accusation as they have not really performed the magic. The 'B' people honestly feel that their accusation is well-founded and decide to avenge H's death as soon as possible. Thus H's death which was produced by a retaliatory plan also produces a retaliatory plan.

v. Accidental and Personal. Sometimes the deaths caused in warfare or attributed to magic are, at least in the observer's view, accidental. Once the Puang decided to kill a person from their neighbouring village

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1. That is, as far as the dead members and their wrongdoings are remembered.

Piem. They did not have any particular person in mind and only wished to avenge a Puang man's death who had been killed by the Piem people in warfare earlier. One evening a few Puang men lay in ambush in the Piem forest and killed a man whom they could not recognize in the dark, and who was hiding under a shooting-shelter to hunt marsupials. The day after, the victim's wife, who happened to be the true (not classificatory) sister of one of the men who had lain in ambush, came to Puang crying, and informed everbody of the identity of the victim. Her brother tried emphatically to explain to her that he had no intention of killing his own brother-in-law, but one cannot be sure that the victim's close relatives in the Piem village did really accept that explanation.

Sometimes magic and warfare (or rather guerrilla raids) result from petty and personal conflicts. The conflicts could be over such things as casual illicit sexual relations, or repeatedly stealing personal belongings, like stone-adzes, net-bags, and bamboo-tubes of sago flour left in the forest.

vi. Brother-Sister Conflict. What was said above concerning patrilineal relatives in general does not entirely apply to brother-sister relationships. There

are no intra-village cases of a brother killing, or performing magic against, his married or ummarried sister. There are, however, several inter-village cases in this regard, in which the sister had married into, and consequently gone to live in, another village. In these cases, the brother believed that his sister was responsible for her husband not giving him the bride-wealth or the customary annual gifts. Although such cases are not many, they are not insignificant. They are the extreme manifestation of, as will be shown, the probability of conflict between brother and sister, especially if she marries into another village.

The following are four examples of recorded cases of inter-village destructive magic and warfare.

Case No.3. Contagious Magic

Kairenaai, who was living in the Nipin hamlet, Puang, and was a member of the Tanik Ninik clan, died about two decades ago. The cause of his death and related issues are said, by that clan, to be as follows:

His death was caused by contagious magic and the magic was performed by his sister's husband, Wamen, living in the Nakil village. The reason why Wamen resorted to magic was that Kairenaai, who had recieved bride-wealth from him, refused to send him any pigs in return. As a rule, bride-wealth should be reciprocated by the gift of a

few pigs. The manner in which the magic was carried out was this. Wamen invited Kairenaai to a meal, including the meat of a bandicoot, and later took part of the left-over meat and did contagious magic with it. The evidence that he did perform magic is that he and his son did not attend Kairenaai's funeral in Puang, and indeed after Kairenaai's death did not come to Puang any more. When a person actually performs destructive magic of any kind and his intended victim happens to die, he and his close relatives avoid going to the victim's village again, especially avoiding his funeral, because it is believed that, firstly, the victim's ghost will recognize the magician and harm him and his relatives. Secondly, the victim's corpse will help his fellow-villagers to identify the magician, in the sense that when the magician faces, or gets close to, the corpse, spittle is believed to come out of the corpse's mouth.

Kairenaai's death, it is said, did not appease Wamen's anger entirely. Wamen performed contagious magic two more times and killed two of Kairenaai's closest relatives. One was Kairenaai's wife, called Mawin, and the other, one of his brothers, called Soki. In the case of Mawin, the object with which magic was performed was her left-over food, and in the case of Soki, a discarded betel nut which he had chewed without lime. When betel nut is chewed with lime - and this is usually done - it cannot be used for contagious magic.

After death, Mawin's and Soki's mouths were black. If a person's mouth blackens after death it indicates that his death was caused by contagious magic. Before death, both Mawin and Soki came to know, through their dreams, that Wamen had done magic against them. Dreams have a divinatory aspect. Shortly before one's death, if one's soul keeps going to a person in another village, that is, if one keeps dreaming of a person in another village, it means that one is the victim of that person's magic.

In Puang, the Tanik Ninik clan thus lost three people, two clansmen and a clansman's wife, who were believed to be the victims of contagious magic performed by Wamen, one of the victim's sister's husband in the Nakil village. The Tanik Ninik clan decided to retaliate. In a visit to Nakil, some of its male members secretly inserted small pieces of the victims' bones in the sago thatch of Wamen's house. Then, referring to Wamen, they addressed the bones or rather the victims' ghosts associated with the bones: "This man killed three of you. If you are truly men (A. mit) you will kill him".

A victim's bone is placed close to his actual or believed magical killer, so that the victim's ghost, associated with the bone, can find the killer easily. A ghost is usually so addressed, with the intention of encouraging it to take revenge. The expression "if you are truly a man (A. mitik; mit being the plural of

mitik)" is used irrespective of whether it is a man's or a woman's ghost.
Sometime later, though not soon after the above retaliatory action, Wamen died and his death was believed, by the Tanik Ninik clan if not the Puang as a whole, to have been caused by the three victims' ghosts.

Case No.4. Pointing-Magic

In 1973, the second year of the fieldwork, one day Pita's husband, Waiko, a man from the Lalwi village, came to the Nikis hamlet, where the present writer was staying. He said that Pita was in pain and might have been 'shot' by pointing-magic. Pita, who was a member of the Meinemonak clan in the Puang village, used to live in Nikis until she married in 1971.
On the above-mentioned day Pita's husband came to Nikis to ask Meyes for help. Apart from being Pita's father, Meyes was an expert at pointing-magic and its healing ritual. But he was not in Nikis at that time. However, his younger brother, Yankaliya, had recently learnt this magic. He volunteered to go to Lalwi with Pita's husband and perform a healing ritual for her; a ritual in which the healing magician gives the impression that he is taking out of the patient's body an object, such as a sharp bone, with which the patient is believed to have been shot magically. Having performed the ritual in Lalwi, Meyes' brother returned to Nikis later in the day.

It was in the evening that Pita herself, accompanied by a woman, came to Nikis. She was still in pain. Meyes' brother, and later another healing magician, from the Tanik Ninik clan, carried out further healing rituals on her. But her condition did not improve.

Then some Nikis men argued that Pita's pains were not due to pointing-magic, and that she was shot not by a magician but by an ancestor or a spirit. The men's reason was that although a few objects had been removed from her, she was still feeling pain. It is believed that a pointing-magician shoots his victim with one or at most a few objects, whereas an ancestor or a spirit, such as a garden-spirit, with many. If a person does not get well until more than a few objects are removed, he or she is believed to have been shot by the ancestors or spirits.

The above Nikis men went further and argued that Pita was shot by her dead paternal granfather, that is, Meyes' father, as her husband had not fully paid the bride-wealth after two years of marriage. It was indeed true that her husband had not yet paid the bride-wealth completely, in spite of the fact that he had been reminded of it by Meyes and others, a number of times. Her grandfather was supposedly harming her and not her husband, because, as the Puang would say, in order to punish a person the ancestors sometimes harm not him but someone else who is very close to, and highly needed by, him.

In the meantime, Pita was not feeling better and appeared to ache almost all over, including her genitalia. Meyes' brother decided to do the healing ritual once more and this time on her genitalia. As recorded cases show, female genitalia are a frequent target of pointing-magic. The ritual removal of objects is usually done by mouth, but in the case of female genitalia, by hand. Like most Puang women, Pita was, out of shyness, unwilling to accept this form of the ritual at first, but was persuaded to do so later. A woman's father, father's brother, and especially her brother are allowed to do the ritual on her genitalia. This form of the ritual did not, however, cure her either. Nor did the present writer's medicine, sent to her through Meyes' brother. During the whole night she moaned and screamed frequently.

To everybody's surprise, in the morning Pita gave birth to a baby boy! The Puang do not show interest in the exact duration of pregnancy and are not aware that pregnancy normally lasts nine months. The night before, some women touched her abdomen, did not feel the movement of a foetus, and came to the conclusion that she was not going to bear a baby. After the baby's birth, some men said that she had been in such pain because she was lying down all the time; a woman must sit down when she is about to bear a baby. Pita's husband, whom the Nikis were trying to fetch the night before, arrived in Nikis after the baby had

been born. He said that his wife also felt much pain during the birth of her first baby.

No-one was, however, fully satisfied with explaining Pita's bodily pains merely by impersonal or natural causes. In Puang, child-birth is not often so painful, and when it is the pains are believed to be due to personal or final causes. A personalistic explanation had been put forward the evening before, namely, the one based on Pita's dead grandfather's supposed anger over the bride-wealth. But that expalnation did not appeal to Pita's husband. It meant that he should complete his payment of the bride-wealth; something which he did not appear to be either prepared or under enough pressure to do.

The explanation finally accepted by Pita's husband and others was this: Pita was a victim of pointing-magic. The magic was performed by somebody in the Witinim village, adjacent to the Lalwi village. The reasōn why Pita became a target of magical attack was that her husband had certain secret liaisons with Witinim women, which he did not, and could not, deny, as by then his secret was an open secret in a number of neighbouring villages.

Case No.5. Raiding-Magic

The following case, partly based on an eye-witness account, was narrated by a chief informant on magic.

"Wurpus was a victim of raiding-magic and died soon afterwards. She was unmarried, from the Meinemonak clan, and lived in the Puang hamlet. At that time I was an adolescent, like Wolauti, Yawel's son in the Nikis hamlet now, and I had not yet gone to the coast to work on the plantations.

I saw Wurpus shortly before she died. I was also living in the Puang hamlet then. I moved to Nikis, where I am living at present, many years later, after my wife's death. I saw her swollen jaws and her bruised and wounded body. I watched her relatives taking out thorns of sago and sharp bones of the cassowary and the flying fox, which had been inserted in her joints by raiding-magicians. Some of the thorns and the bones were conspicuous before being taken out. Yes, sometimes magicians take the objects out themselves to do contagious magic with later, and sometimes leave the objects, or at least some of them, in the victim's body. No, no one minded me watching what was going on. Adults expected and wished adolescents and even children to learn about this magic.

Raiding-magic was done on Wurpus when she went alone to pick mangoes in the forest. After coming back to the village, she said herself that raiding-magicians had attacked

her. Yes, it is true that victims of this magic do not normally say so, as they are unable to recall what has been done to them in the forest. Also, unlike a usual victim of this magic, when she returned to the village, she was still strong and was not staggering. I think the magicians had not performed contagious magic on a personal belonging of hers: if before doing raiding-magic, contagious magic is not performed the victim will not become very weak.

The raiding-magic was carried out by the people of the Piem village. Some of our men followed Wurpus' foot-steps to the forest and saw that the magicians' foot-steps were in the direction of Piem. The Piem had done the magic in revenge. We, the Puang, had killed one of them in a war [formal battle] before and the killer was from the Meinemonak clan. The Piem did not retaliate upon us by waging another war, because they were, numerically, weaker than us and knew that they could not win in this way".

The above case must have taken place some forty years ago, as its narrator, Meikun, is now in his fifties. By population, Piem is indeed a much smaller village than Puang. In 1972, while the population of the former was 166, that of the latter was 450. It is noteworthy that, as in the above case, in most cases of raiding-magic the victim is a woman and not a man. In this regard the reason given by the Puang is that since men are, compared with women, physically strong and capable of fighting back, raiding-magic cannot be performed on them without some difficulty.

Case No.6. The Guerrilla Raid

The following case was narrated by the above-mentioned informant, namely, Meikun, who is a member of the Tanik Ninik clan in the Puang village. It describes how his father was killed and how his father's death was avenged.

"When my father, Wiken, was killed in a guerrilla raid I was still a child, as old as Kaminus [who is some ten years old and lives in the Nikis hamlet now]. Before his death, some of the men in our village were due to go, in a group, to the Yili village to barter tobacco for meat. In those days when we wanted to do trading with another village, we usually went in a group of several or more people and took our shields, bows, and bundles of arrows with us lest we should be attacked by somebody from that village or from other villages on the way.

At that time, my father and Pipaan, a man from the Neknouken clan, made a dangerous decision. They decided to go to Yili separate from, and in advance of, the others. They had nearly reached the village-site of Yili when they were ambushed and both were killed.

Immediately afterwards, the people of Yili as well as the Piem village struck their slit-gongs announcing their victory and held Singing Rituals in celebration. The Piem so reacted because they had also sent men to lie in ambush for my father and Pipaan. As we came to know many years later [see below], the people of the Tumentonik village had co-operated with the Yili too. But the Tumentonik refused to strike their slit-gongs or hold a Singing Ritual, as they wished to hide

their co-operation with the Yili from us. Since their village is so close to ours, they were afraid that we would find many chances to retaliate upon them without much difficulty later.

My fellow-clansmen buried my father's body close to where he was killed, except for his head which they brought back and buried in the Puang hamlet. Later we, the Tanik Ninik clan and the Neknouken clan, decided to take retaliatory action. Other clans in our village were going to help us too. When a fellow-villager dies in warfare, all the people in the village try to co-operate in taking revenge.

We did not have any particular persons in mind to retaliate upon. At that time, we did not know which particular men had killed my father and Pipaan. We just wanted to kill somebody belonging to the enemy villages. Yes, some of us had relatives, affinal, matrilateral, and so forth, in Yili and Piem. But we did not intend to kill any of them. We did not think, then or later, that my father's and Pipaan's deaths were caused by them.

The enemy village which we decided to retaliate upon was Piem and not Yili, because Piem is closer to Puang than Yili is, and it was thus easier and safer for us to hide, in order to raid, in the forest of Piem than that of Yile. It was for the same reason that we decided to retaliate only upon the Garoka hamlet, which is the Piem's closest hamlet to Puang.

We carried out two guerrilla raids into Garoka and in each of them killed one man. The story of one of the raids is this: 'One day a Garoka man, called Mantape, went to the Nipoam village to get the seeds of the Pandalus tree for planting. We, the Tanik Ninik clan, have some patrilineal relatives in that village. Soon after the arrival of the Garoka man in Nipoam, one of those relatives secretly came to Puang and informed us about the man being there, and the route which the man might take in returning to Garoka on the same day. Thus in Puang some of us, from my clan, the Neknouken clan, and the Suluk clan, took our shields, bows, and bundles of arrows and lay in ambush, in the forest, for the Garoka man.
It was late in the afternoon when we heard him coming. When he got close to us, suddenly a bird appeared and sat on the branch of a nearby tree. As soon as the man turned to look at, and perhaps to shoot, the bird we shot him with arrows. The person whose arrow killed the man was called Yanmo, from my clan and of the same generation as my father. That bird was not really a bird. It was my father's ghost who transformed into a bird on that occasion in order to distract the Garoka man's attention and thus to help us to shoot the man successfully. But many years later, we came to know that my father's real killer, the man whose arrow had killed my father, was from Tumentonik and not Garoka, Piem, or Yili.

A Tumentonik girl, Beini's daughter, came to Puang and married a young clansman of mine, Mouren, who lives in the Nipin hamlet. But she kept falling ill. We did not know why it was so until her father disclosed the reason: one of her clansmen, called Meinaka, had killed my father and my father's ghost was therefore trying to harm her in revenge. Since she was not becoming better at all, her father asked her to return to Tumentonik lest she should be finally killed by my father's ghost. Later she married a man in the Wulukum village. Mouren has not re-married yet".

PART II

CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

CHAPTER SEVEN

M A L A Y C O N T A C T

1. THE FIRST CONTACT WITH OUTSIDERS

The Sepik area takes its name from the Sepik River, which is, geographically, the main unifying feature of the area. The Sepik River is 700 miles long, the largest river in Papua New Guinea, and is navigable for 500 miles. The name 'Sepik' is an indigenous one; derived from the language of the Awar people living near the mouth of the river; and literally means "place from which death comes".[1] The river was called Kaiserin Augusta at the time of German administration. The Sepik area has usually been regarded as one area in anthropological literature and has most often been administered as one district. For administrative purposes, in July 1966 the area was, however, divided into East and West Sepik Districts, the former being administered from Wewak and the latter from Vanimo. Between 1924 and 1933 the Sepik basin and coastal region had also been divided into two districts called Sepik and Aitape. Before 1924 the Sepik area was administered as the Aitape District.

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1. S.W. Reed, The Making of Modern New Guinea, with Special Reference to Culture Contact in Mandated Territory, 1943. The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, p.54n.

Professor D.A.M. Lea, a geographer, remarks: "The first contact the Sepik peoples had with the outside world was probably with Malay bird-of-paradise shooters".[1] This would seem to be certainly true of the Puang, and many peoples of the Au East and Au West Census-Divisions. The Puang say clearly that, before European contact, they had been occasionally visited by small groups of men who came to shoot birds of paradise, with an older type of gun not used by Europeans, and who exchanged things such as steel knives for local food and the feathers of the bird. The Puang's description of the men in question well applies to Malays in Papua New Guinea. As will be seen, Malays were well-known there in the past as professional bird-of-paradise shooters, who travelled to remote places in the interior for the birds and small trading, and did not usually stay on with the local people very long.

In Puang, elderly men have certain vivid recollections of Malays based on their own personal experience in early life or on their ancestors' narratives. For example, they vividly describe the difference between the Malay type of gun, namely the muzzle-loader, and the kind of gun introduced by

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1. D.A.M. Lea, 'Sepik Districts, East and West', op.cit., p.1034.

Europeans into the area later, and also the difference between the ways in which the two types of gun are used. It may be that the first time the Puang saw and tried to use the European gun their reaction was similar to that of the people of the following Sepik villages:

> "As a surveyor for Oil Search Ltd., Eve visited many villages in the northwest Sepik district during 1935 to 1939 which, so far as is known, had never before seen a white man ... Although the natives recognized guns for what they were, they pantomimed their use as if they were muzzle-loaders, a type of gun whites have never used in New Guinea."[1]

Elderly informants also vividly describe the following occurrence. Once two (or two groups of) men, called Sopa and Yinka, came to Puang. They had come from somewhere in the west of the present administrative station at Lumi and had crossed over the Torricelli Mountains. One of these men climbed a tree to shoot a bird called tehepen (A.); then he was struck by thunder, fell down and died. The same happened to another man. He climbed a mango tree to shoot a bird-of-paradise. He shot the bird successfully, but as soon as the bird fell down, he was struck by thunder. He also fell down and

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1. S.W. Reed, 1943, op.cit., p.92n.

died. The location of these two trees are still known. They are said to be located in Meici, which is the earlier place of the people of the Nikis hamlet in Puang. It is also known that the above men came when the hamlet was still situated in Meici. Since the hamlet people moved to the present place, that is, Nikis, as we have seen, in 1935, the above occurrence has definitely happened before that date.

That the men who died in Meici in their hunting trip to Puang were Malay is confirmed especially by the above-mentioned two names attributed to them by the Puang: Sopa, or rather soba,[1] is the usual pidgin form of sobat, a Malay word. In Malay, sobat means 'friend',[2] and is also often used, like 'sir' and 'mate' in English, as a form of address. In 1936, in Dutch New Guinea (West Irian), where the Malay language is very influential, near the Tami River, a zoologist-geographer saved his life by knowing one word in pidgin Malay, namely, soba. In this regard he writes:

> "It was not far from the Tami that we met with the only suspicion of hostility shown during the whole trip. I happened to be leading, when I turned a bend of the path and found myself suddenly confronted by a native with a fish-spear. He was more surprised, if anything, than I; and probably more

1. In the Au language the consonants 'p' and 'b' are not, as was stated earlier, clearly distinguished.
2. R. Winstedt, An English-Malay Dictionary, Third edit., 1949, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, p.184.

> in fright than anything else lifted the weapon menacingly. I knew only one word of pidgin-Malay: soba, meaning friend. I shouted the word of peace; the cry was taken up by the carriers and the man at length stood aside and pointed mutely towards the village."[1]

In 1935, J.K. McCarthy, a patrol officer, visited certain local people near the Yellow River, in the south of the Sepik region. Since these people, living close to the border of Dutch New Guinea, were expected to know Malay he had taken with him, on his visit, a New Guinean corporal who happened to know Malay. The corporal, called Yongas, 'spoke fluent Malay', or rather a type of pidgin Malay in which soba is, as will be seen below, pronounced 'soaba'. Describing his visit, and having said that for some time they did not encounter any local man, McCarthy writes:

> "'We should find men tomorrow,' said Corporal Yongas. The next morning we did - three of them, sitting around a fire cooking a tree-climbing kangaroo.
> "'Soaba! Soaba!' Yongas called gently. The men were trembling. But soon they were pacified, and even delighted, when they realized they could converse with us."[2]

Since the word sobat is a friendly term and a common form of address, it is one of the first words

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1. A.J. Marshall, 'Northern New Guinea', in Geographical Journal, the Royal Geographical Society, London, 1937, Vol.89, p.500.
2. J.K. McCarthy, 1964, op.cit., pp.161-162.

which a non-Malay, like a Puang, may hear from a Malay, or from conversation between two Malays, and may therefore learn its sound to some extent, though not necessarily its exact meaning.

The other name attributed by the Puang to the above-mentioned men who were struck by thunder in Meici was Yinka. It is not easy to discover the possible Malay origin of this name. Yinka may, perhaps, be the corrupt form of the Malay word êngkau. In Malay, this word is also a common form of address, and means 'thou' or 'you'.[1] Thus, as in the case of sobat, this word might have been picked up by the Puang without much difficulty.

There is some evidence of pre-European contact between Malays and a number of other villages in Au Census-Divisons.[2] My informant from the Warin village was aware of such contact in the case of his own place. In 1936, A.J. Marshall travelled, with a recruiter, through some parts of what is now called the Lumi Sub-District, especially the Au area. And it seemed to him that in the Au area some villages, such as Bogasip and Weis, which did not appear to be within the sphere of

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1. R.J. Wilkinson, A Malay-English Dictionary, 1957. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, Part I, p.305.
2. As far as West Wapei, another Census Division in the Sub-District, is concerned, a patrol officer observes: 'From old village books and discussion with elder men it would seem initial contact in the area was with Malay Bird of Paradise shooters ....' Lumi Patrol Reports, No.4, 1970-1971.

European influence, had been contacted by Malays.

Referring to the people of the Bogasip village he writes:

> "They brought us bird-of-paradise skin eager to trade ... First I was puzzled, then I understood. These people had never seen white men before, but ... Probably they knew the Malays during the early days of the plume-boom. These Malays were fearless bushmen who went deep into the country, long before the white man dared, in search of paradise plumes."[1]

Speaking of the people of the Weis, or rather Witweis, village, he says: "The Weis people offered us plumes and by signs told us how easily the paradise birds were shot".[2] And using the term 'Wapei' in its broad sense,[3] which refers to the majority of the people in the Sub-District including the people living in the two Au Census Divisions, he observes:

> "Long before the first European ventured over the Torricelli ranges [covering the northern border of the Lumi Sub-District] the Malay bird-shooters knew the country, and had established friendly trading relations with the Wapeis ...."[4]

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1. A.J. Marshall, 1938, op.cit., pp.49-50.
2. Ibid., p.260.
3. See the present volume, p.84.
4. A.J. Marshall, 1937, op.cit., p.495.

2. INTERMARRIAGE AND LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

The Puang say that those small groups of men who used to visit them for hunting birds of paradise and small trading did sometimes marry Puang women. One of the cases of intermarriage which elderly informants recall frequently is that in which two visiting Malays married two women from the village and took the women away with them.

According to the 1966 census, there were 2484 persons of 'mixed race' in Papua New Guinea; and about 50% of these people were the result of intermarriage between non-Europeans, especially Malays and Chinese, and local women.[1] The term 'Malay' is, significantly enough, sometimes used by Europeans for a mixed race person.[2] It should be added that the small groups of men who used to visit Puang do not seem to have been Chinese, although Chinese were also involved in hunting, and trading in, birds of paradise. The Puang have no doubt that those early uninvited guests were not Chinese.

Concerning his 1936 trip to the Au area, A.J. Marshall observes that, in a number of villages, he saw some people

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1. J. Tudor (ed.), The Handbook of Papua and New Guinea, Pacific Publications, 1969, Sixth edit., Sydney, p.33. Cf. Fifth edit., 1966, p.33.
2. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.2, p.818.

with pale faces and a slant in their eyes who appeared to be the result of intermarriage with Malays. He writes, for example, that Malay "influence can easily be traced in the pale-faced, slit-eyed people we occasionally saw in the otherwise pure bush communities".[1] He says that in Yankok, an Au village, "there are two such women, and I saw and photographed them at other places as well".[2] There are photographs of two mixed-race persons in Marshall's book.[3]

In the very early stage of the fieldwork, I noted that in Puang and other villages there are certain persons who rather resemble south-east Asians in skin-colour and facial features. Such persons have often slant eyes too. The Puang's late cargo cult leader, Wayowi, who will be discussed later, has four children, one son and three daughters. His children all look like Malays to a lesser or greater degree.[4] The late leader himself is described as having the same type of skin-colour.

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1. A.J. Marshall, 1938, op.cit., pp.49-50.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.197. It is noteworthy that in 1927 Champion, an explorer, noted that in a village on the bank of the Fly River, in the south of the West Sepik District, "two of the children were evidently half-cast Malays as they had slant eyes." I.F. Champion, Across New Guinea, From the Fly to the Sepik, Lansdowne Press, 1967, London, p.105. In 1941, referring to certain local people near the Vanimo Station, in the West Sepik, a patrol officer observes: "It is somewhat difficult to 'type' these people. There is an infiltration of Malayan blood noticeable". K.H. Thomas, "Notes on the Natives of the Vanimo Coast, New Guinea", in Oceania, 1941, Vol.12, No.1, p.165.
4. I have the photographs of these children and a number of other Malay-looking persons in Puang.

I was surprised to find out; after having left the field, that there is striking similarity between a considerable number of Au and Malay words. And the more I have inquired into this matter and learnt the Malay language, the more examples I have found. So far the result of this inquiry is briefly as follows.

There is, first of all, similarity between many Au and Malay personal names. Such names are sometimes not only alike or the same, but also used in the same way, that is, for the same sex, male or female (see Table 10).

TABLE 10: Examples of Similarity Between Au And Malay Personal Names.

MALE NAMES		FEMALE NAMES	
Au	Malay	Au	Malay
Anis	Anis	Malakut	Malakut
Yakub	Yakub	Malikat	Malaka
Kamis	Khamis	Saira	Sara
Salabi	Shalabi	Minak	Minah
Kiram	Karam	Nina	Lila
Yapa	Yape	Hason	Hoson
Meyes	Meyas	Maki	Maki

The slight phonetic differences between some of the above Au personal names and their Malay equivalents are sometimes not difficult to explain. The names Kamis (A.)

and Khamis (M.) are different because the consonant 'Kh' does not exist in the Au language. Likewise, the names Salabi (A.) and Shalabi (M.) are not exactly the same, as the Au language lacks the consonant 'sh'. The difference between the names Nina (A.) and Lila (M.) is due to the fact that 'n' and 'l' are not quite distinct in Au.

It may be added here that in Malay Khamis means 'Thursday'. Both the Puang and especially Malays sometimes use the names of days for naming a person. In Puang the pidgin English word for Thursday (Fonde) has been used for one girl's name. Apart from Khamis, the Malay words for Saturday (Saptu), Monday (Isnen), and Wednesday (Rabu) are also used by Malays as personal names.

There are also certain Au personal names the Malay equivalents of which are not used by Malays either for naming a person of the same sex or, partly or wholly, as personal names (see Table 11).

The reason why certain Malay words are used as personal names in the Au language can sometimes be detected without much difficulty. The relationship between the name Sopa (A.) and the word sobat (M.) was explained in the early part of the chapter. As far as the word siti (M.) is concerned, it is noteworthy that the English word 'Mrs.' (P.E. misis), which is like siti, a female title

of respect, has been used in Puang as one girl's name.[1]

TABLE 11: Examples of Similarity Between Au Personal Names and Malay Words.

AU	MALAY
Semai (female name)	Semai (male name)
Site (female Name)	Siti (a female title of respect)
Banina (female name)	banina (our children; bani: sons, children of; na: our)
Sopa (male name)	sobat (friend)
Keiri (male name)	Kiri (part of a male name, as in Kiri Johari)

1. The Malay words mentioned in this chapter can be found in the two Malay dictionaries cited before. Some of the Malay personal names used here are not, however, referred to in any dictionary or book available to me. I learnt such names from a number of Malayan post-graduate students in the University of Edinburgh.

In Puang, the Malay-like personal names are found not only among the names of the living generations, but also, though to a lesser degree, among the names of the dead as mentioned in genealogies. For example, Anis is the name of the FFFB of a man, called Wânanap and in his late thirties (see Fig. 3). Yakup is the name of the FFFB of a man, called Wânhi and in his fifties (see Fig. 4). And Minak is the name of the FFW of a man, called Meikum and in his fifties (see Fig. 5).

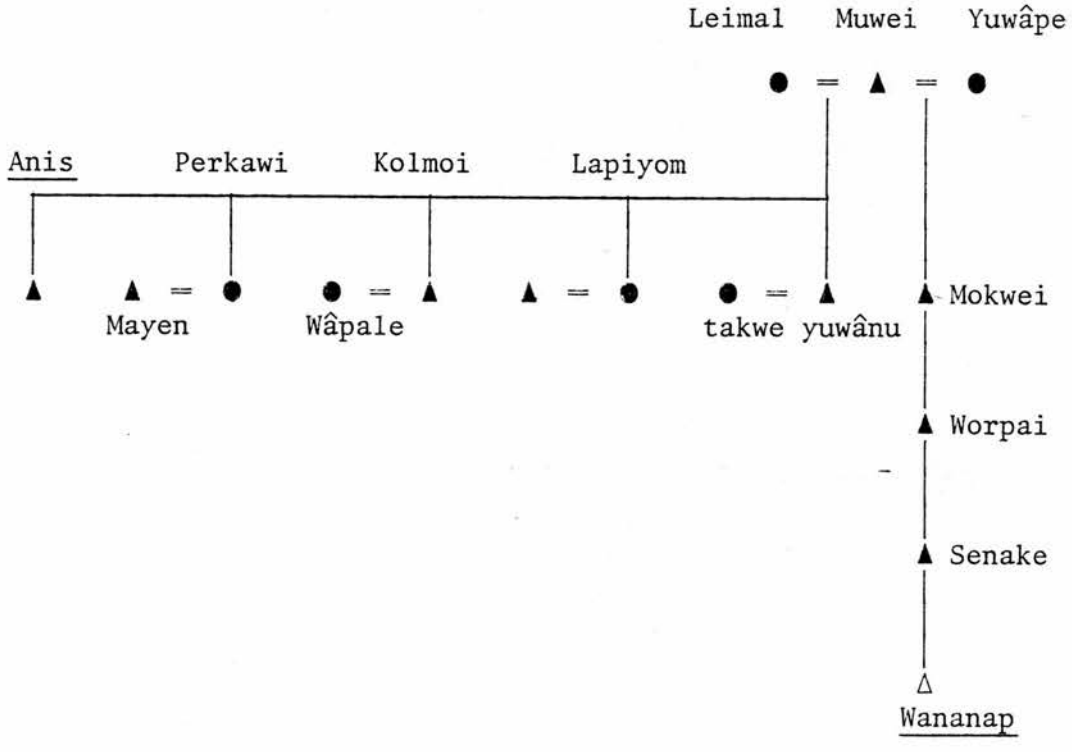

FIGURE 3. Part of the genealogy of the Miripluk clan

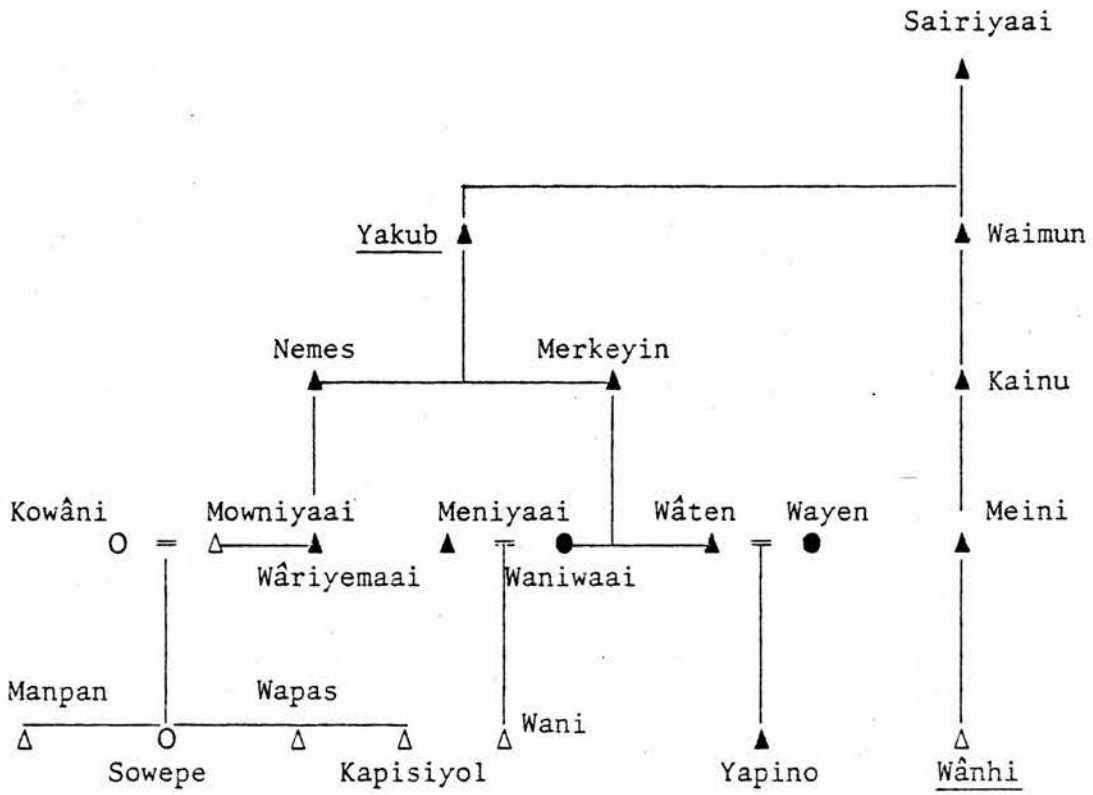

FIGURE 4. Part of the genealogy of the Tanik Ninik clan

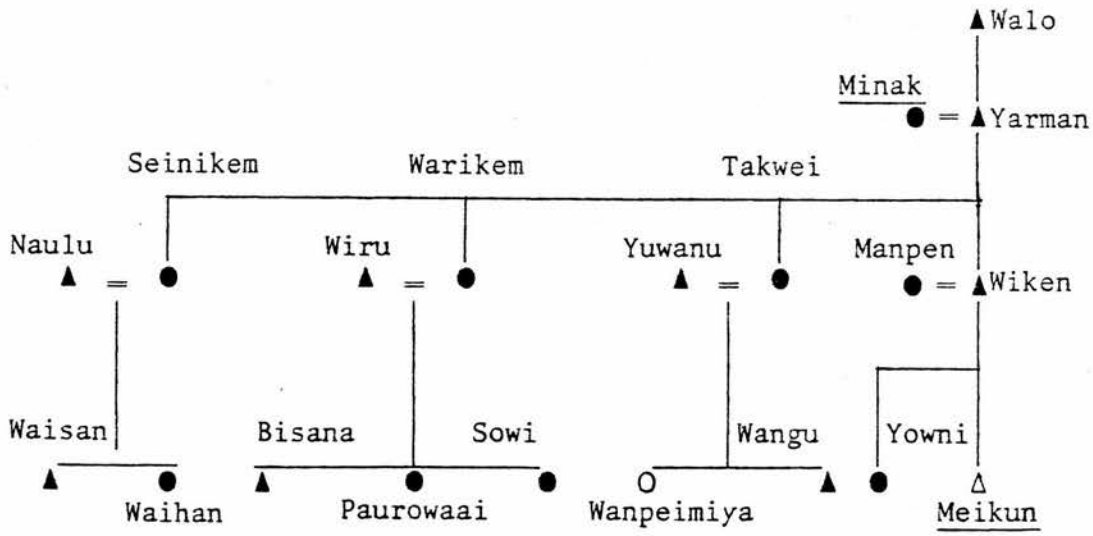

FIGURE 5. Part of the genealogy of the Tanik Ninik clan

It may be said, with caution, that the names Anis, Yakup, and Minak in Figures 3, 4 and 5 indicate that Malay-Puang contact has a long history. I said with caution because genealogies can, of course, be fictitious. It should, however, be added that the Puang do not seem to be inclined, consciously or unconsciously, to associate themselves with Malays genealogically. Indeed the Puang do not usually know which names are of Malay origin.

The Malay-like personal names are also found in Au villages other than Puang, such as Nina in Tumentonik, Anis in Yemnu, and Semai in Witikin. Sometimes such names are even used by peoples speaking languages other than Au, in the Lumi Sub-District if not in other parts of the Sepik region. For instance, as a male name, Anis is used in Teloute, an Olo-speaking village in the Lumi Sub-District;[1] is found in the form of 'Alis' among the Arapesh, the East Sepik District;[2] and is indeed said to be very common in the Sepik region as a whole.[3]

Since the number of similar and identical personal names in Au and Malay is so considerable, it may be taken as evidence for intermarriage between the Puang and Malays.

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1. D.E. McGregor, 1975, op.cit., pp.20, 62.
2. M. Mead, "The Mountain Arapesh: Socio-Economic Life", in Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 1947, Vol.40, Part 3, pp.269, 416.
3. G.W.L. Townsend, District Officer, From Untamed New Guinea to Lake Success, 1968, Pacific Publications, Sydney, p.261.

It should, however, be noted that these names do not need to have, always, been a consequence of intermarriage between the two people. Sometimes the Puang use non-local names, whether Malay or not, and this is not in conflict with their beliefs and customs. As mentioned before, the pidgin English words Fonde and misis are used as names for two girls. There is a boy who is, as his father told me, named after his father's European employer on the plantations. The boy is called Tik (E. Dick).[1]

The naming of a person is done as follows. The first time the mother breast-feeds her new-born baby, she mentions a series of names to it. The name chosen for the baby is that one spoken as the baby begins to suck at the breast. The series of names mentioned by the mother is said to be usually the names of the baby's ancestors in the father's and mother's clans. This belief does not, however, seem to be practically observed, as genealogies show, to any significant degree. Moreover, genealogies show that, at least at their shallow depth - and they are usually of shallow depth - names are not, whether for the purpose of the belief in question or not, often repeated. The Puang have a large stock of names; and

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1. It may not be inappropriate to add that the present writer's first-name was given to a newly-born baby, who did not survive more than a few months.

this may be partly because of the fact that, as we have seen, the people of the village are all migrant, having come there from different directions and different places.

In this connection, another belief is that the names (the secret ones) of hunting-spirits (A. witipir) should be used in naming babies lest these names fall into oblivion. This belief is partly put into practise, as some of the names of this type can be seen in genealogies. A reason why it is not fully observed in practice seems to be that its practical observation is helpful but not essential in remembering the names of hunting-spirits. The Puang are bound to remember these names at all events, as the spirits are, in the Puang's view, highly important, especially in hunting. Every time a man goes hunting pigs he must address his hunting-spirit by its name in a spell, otherwise he will fail to kill any pig. Moreover, on the one hand, the names of hunting-spirits are not used for women, and on the other, each clan has only one spirit of this kind and its male members are not, and cannot be, all named after that spirit. Thus, in practice, the names of such spirits do not put great limitation on the choice of personal names.

The Puang can, therefore, choose non-local personal names, as their rules of giving personal names are not or need not be observed in every instance.

So much for the influence of the Malay language on Au names for men and women. The influence of Malay may also be found in other Au words, as illustrated in Table 12.

TABLE 12: Examples of Similarity Between Au and Malay Words.

AU	MALAY
Pirir[1] (a penis-sheath)[2]	Pĕlir (penis)
Suwara (chicken)	Suari or Suwari[3] (cassowary, ostrich)
Sauk (fish)	Sauk (overhang of stern-post of a Malay canoe)
Hakat teruk; Teruk (I cough) (throat)	Batok terok (bad cough)
Suluk (name of a clan in Puang)	Suluk (way, path ...)
Wiisuluk (Sulukland; Wii: place, land) is the name of a part of the forest in Puang	
Puang or Buang[4] (name of a village and one of its hamlets)	Buang (A variety of meanings; a male name in Brunei. Buang Sayang: name of a place bordering on Brunei and Sabah in Malaysia.

1. The consonants r and l are not always distinct in the Au language.
2. See Plate no.7.
3. See A.L. Rand, et.al., 1967, p.22 as well as the above-mentioned Malay dictionaries.
4. It is also possible that 'Puang' is derived from puanga (A.), as pointed out earlier.

Table 12 - and indeed the whole discussion of the linguistic influence of Malay - is perhaps partly conjectural. But, needless to say, sometimes words change their meanings as well as their sounds when borrowed by another language. For instance, it is not only the above Malay word for 'cassowary' which appears to have acquired a new meaning, that is 'chicken', when borrowed by the Au language; the Malay word for 'animal' (binatang) has also acquired a new meaning, namely, 'insect', after having been borrowed by pidgin English.[1]

Sometimes Au words essential to the daily life and the world-view of Au people appear to show the influence of the Malay language; a point indicating that Puang-Malay contact is not only a recent and transient one, but also, perhaps, a more remote and far-reaching one. For example, there is, first of all, similarity between Au and Malay words for 'father'. Indeed the Malay word for 'father' may be taken as an index of Malays' wide-spread contact with the whole Sepik region, as the word is also similar to the words for 'father' in no less than 22 other languages spoken in the Lumi Sub-District and its neighbouring sub-districts (see Table 13). As will be seen in Table 13, a few of the 23 words (including the Au one) do not resemble the Malay word in an obvious

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1. Apart from the above-mentioned Malay dictionaries, see Michalic's Dictionary, op.cit., p.72; and The Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, Vol.2, op.cit., p.904.

manner. The reason why such words are included in the table is that all the 23 words are, according to linguistic research,[1] related to each other.

TABLE 13: Similarity Between the Malay Word for 'Father' And its Equivalents in 23 Languages Spoken in The Lumi Sub-District and its Neighbouring Sub-Districts.

Names of Languages	Locations: Sub-Districts	Words for 'Father'
Malay	-	ayah
1. Seta	Lumi	aya
2. Seti	"	"
3. Yis	"	"
4. Aru	"	"
5. Bouye	"	"
6. Karawa	"	"
7. Amal	"	"
8. Abau	Amanab	"
9. One	Lumi; Aitape	"
10. Namei	" ; Ambunti	eya
11. Aruop	Lumi	ayi
12. Elkei	"	aiye
13. Yau	"	"
14. Autu	"	ŋaya
15. Lou	Maprik	ayaŋ
16. Galu	Lumi	ataya
17. Urat	Maprik	yai
18. Yil	Lumi	ya
19. Aiku	"	yaya
20. Nambi	"	yayak
21. Wiaki	"	yaye
22. Ningil	"	yaai
23. Au		haai

1. D.C. Laycock, 1968, op.cit., p.51. For the name of the language called 'one', mentioned in Table 13, see ibid., p.41 as well as D.C. Laycock, 1973, op.cit., 8; 1975, op.cit., p.773.

Moreover, there seems to be a terminological and conceptual affinity between a number of basic Au terms in the field of magic and religion on the one hand and certain Malay words on the other. The Au terms in question are as follows:

AU	ENGLISH
Nasi	contagious magic
Hanya	ritual song; Singing Ritual
Witipir	hunting-spirit
Tipir	land-spirit
Tipitom	myth
Haruwâ	ghost
Haak taap	corpse

The above terms cannot all be examined in the present chapter. Sometimes the affinity between them and Malay words is indirect and complex, or is not understandable without knowing the beliefs associated with the Au terms in full detail. Also, some of the above Au terms really relate to south-east Asian languages and cultures other than Malay; though this does not, necessarily, mean that in such cases Malay contact is out of the question, as Malays have absorbed their neighbouring languages and cultures to a considerable degree.

It may suffice here to examine nasi, one of the above Au terms meaning 'contagious magic', especially because

the Au beliefs associated with this magic has already been described sufficiently. In the Malay language the word nasi exists in exactly the same form, but its meaning, namely, 'cooked rice', is very different. The question thus arises as to how and why the Au word for contagious magic could possibly be related to the Malay word for cooked rice. The reasons for the likelihood of this relationship are briefly as follows:

i. As we have seen before, in the Au language nasi does not mean contagious magic as a whole but the magical bundle used in this magic. What we are, therefore, concerned with here is the relationship between, not an abstract concept and a concrete object, that is, contagious magic and cooked rice respectively, but two concrete objects, namely, a magical bundle and cooked rice.

ii. We have also seen that, in contagious magic, the magical bundle, which includes something closely associated with the victim's body, is destroyed, in the belief that the destruction of the bundle will fatally harm the victim. Now when the Puang wish to say "I destroy the bundle", they say "I cook the bundle":

Hi hahim nasi muwaai si.
(A.; E. I cook the magical bundle [of contagious magic] in fire.)

Using the expression "to cook" in the sense of "to destroy" is not inappropriate in the context of contagious magic, as the bundle is often destroyed by placing it, like actual food, in a fire, over a fire, and under heated stones, and so forth. In this regard, the only difference between the bundle and food is that the former is usually, but not always, allowed to become burnt or over-cooked.

iii. That the Puang implicitly conceive the destruction of the magical bundle in terms of cooking is also appropriate in another sense. The bundle does most often contain food, that is, part of the victim's food; and when food is included in the bundle it is the central component part, and the bundle looks like a piece of food tightly wrapped and fastened.

The objects closely associated with the victim's body and used in the magical bundle may, of course, be something other than part of his food, such as his nails, hair or a piece of his clothing. But as recorded cases of contagious magic show, objects other than food are employed very rarely. We have seen, for example, that in Case No.3 the objects used in three recorded performances of this magic were only the victim's left-over food.

Thus, after being heated, the magical bundle is, not merely in a metaphorical sense, like cooked food.[1]

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1. It is noteworthy that, in the Malay language, the word nasi is sometimes used for 'food', and this is no accident, because, as will be pointed out below, rice is the staple food of Malays.

iv. There is still a further reason why the Puang speak of 'cooking' rather than 'destroying' the magical bundle. In the major techniques of contagious magic the Puang's intention is not simply to destroy the bundle, but to destroy the bundle through heating or over-heating it. In this way the victim's soul, which is believed to be fastened in the bundle, is said to become extremely hot and consequently to cause his death. That is why the victim's life may be saved, in the Puang's view, only if the magician gives him ginger roots (A. nekip) to eat; the roots being believed to make the victim cold.

v. In their contact with Malays, the Puang were bound to learn the word nasi. Rice is the Malays' staple food. Moreover, Malays have a large variety of methods for cooking and serving rice, in the names of most of which the word nasi is included (see Table 14).

vi. Among Malays rice is a major focus of interest not only in practical and economic life, but also in magic and religion. W.W. Skeat, whose detailed and long study of Malay belief and thought is well-known, observes:

> "The most important contribution of the Malays to the animistic theory of vegetation is perhaps to be found in the many strange ceremonies with which they surround the culture of rice."[1]

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1. W.W. Skeat, Malay Magic, An Introduction to the Folklore and Popular Religion of the Malay Peninsular, London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1965, p.218.

TABLE 14: The Word Nasi in the Names of Different Methods of Cooking and Serving Rice (Malay).

Methods of Cooking and Serving Rice	Names of the Methods
Plain rice	nasi putch
Steamed rice	" kukus
Spiced Rice	" minyak " samin
'Pillau' rice	" pulau " kabul
Rice boiled with tumeric or saffron	" kunyit
Rice boiled with coconut milk	" lĕmak
Rice cooked with pieces of egg	" tĕlor
Rice cooked with mixed prawns	" ulam
Rice served in a leaf with a little fish	" dagang
Dish of rice put before bride and groom	" adapadap " adapan " damai
To boil rice	tanak nasi
Rice-broth	ayer "

Furthermore, apart from being the object of many rituals, rice is, in one form or another, frequently used in ritual. For instance, 'rice-paste' (M. tĕpong tawar),

made of rice-flour and water with certain pounded leaves,[1] is said to play a "prominent part in Malay Magic ceremonies"[2], or to be one of "the usual accessories of Malay magic"[3]. In rituals performed at shrines, a type of cooked rice mentioned in Table 14, namely, rice boiled with tumeric or saffron (A. nasi kunyit), is used as an offering to deities. Referring to such rituals, C.O. Blagden states:

> "The worship there, as with most other Karamats, consists of the burning of incense, the offering of nasi kunyet (yellow rice), and the killing of goats ..."[4]

Rice boiled with saffron is also, like rice-paste, one of 'the usual accessories of Malay magic'.[5] In the following example of homoeopathic magic, in which a wax-image of the victim is used, a Malay text on magic observes:

> "Make the wax figure in the usual way and with the usual ingredients. At sundown take parched rice, with white, black, green and yellow (saffron) rice, a 'chew' of betel-leaf, a wax taper and an egg - this latter as the representative of a fowl (isharat ayam). Burn incense, and recite this charm ..."[6]

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1. Ibid., p.588.
2. Ibid., p.236.
3. Ibid., p.376.
4. Quoted and supported with further evidence in ibid., p.74. The reader will note that in the quotation the spelling of the cooked rice in question is slightly different from that in Table 14. In the present thesis Malay words are spelled in accord with the above-mentioned Malay dictionaries.
5. Ibid., p.376.
6. Quoted in ibid., p.572. For another example see p.452.

The above example may also be taken as an example of contagious magic, as the ingredients of the wax figure may include something closely associated with the victim's body.[1]

In Malay magic rice is sometimes the main object used. In an example of homoeopathic magic, used to cure rather than harm a person, the dough-image (M. gambar tĕpong) made of the person mainly consists of rice.[2] In a form of contagious magic, which is employed as love-magic and is, significantly enough, called nasi bĕrjiangau (M.), "hot boiled rice [is] pressed against a woman's privities and used as a love-philtre".[3]

The Puang do not have the type of magic in which an image of the victim is used. But certain forms of their contagious magic seem to resemble the Malay contagious magic just mentioned in technique. A man may secretly rub a leaf on a woman's genitalia, either during sexual intercourse with her or while she is on a tree-picking leaves or fruits, and use the leaf in contagious magic later. Likewise, while performing raiding-magic on a woman, men may rub a piece of marsupial meat on her genitalia, and carry out contagious magic with the meat later.

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1. Ibid., pp.568-70; see also p.452.
2. Ibid., p.452; R.J. Wilkinson, 1957, op.cit., pp.322, 1206.
3. R.J. Wilkinson, 1957, op.cit., pp.470. See also p.800.

3. THE PUANG'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS MALAYS

At the present time, the Puang have a favourable attitude towards Malays. They say, 'bird-of-paradise shooters came not to rule us but to help us. They are our Kandere' (P.E.; E. Kindred). Kandere is a pidgin English word, without an exact local equivalent, meaning a matrilateral relative. By using the word in this context, the Puang are not much concerned with actual genealogical relationship with Malays. In Puang, a Kandere is, ideally, very helpful and protective; and it is particularly in this respect that Malays are said to be Kandere.

The Puang also apply the term to some other outsiders for the same reason. The present writer was sometimes addressed by the term, or by its local near-equivalent, paab (A.; E. mother's brother). Americans are also occasionally referred to as Kandere. It is true that the Puang oppose Americans, like other red-skinned peoples, from a basic cargoist point of view. But Americans made a good impression on the Puang during the Second World War. It is said that in the War Americans were more friendly, and spent more money, than others such as Australians and Japanese. This has even led the Puang to have an especial cargoist hope that Americans may finally come back and reveal the secret of cargo to them.

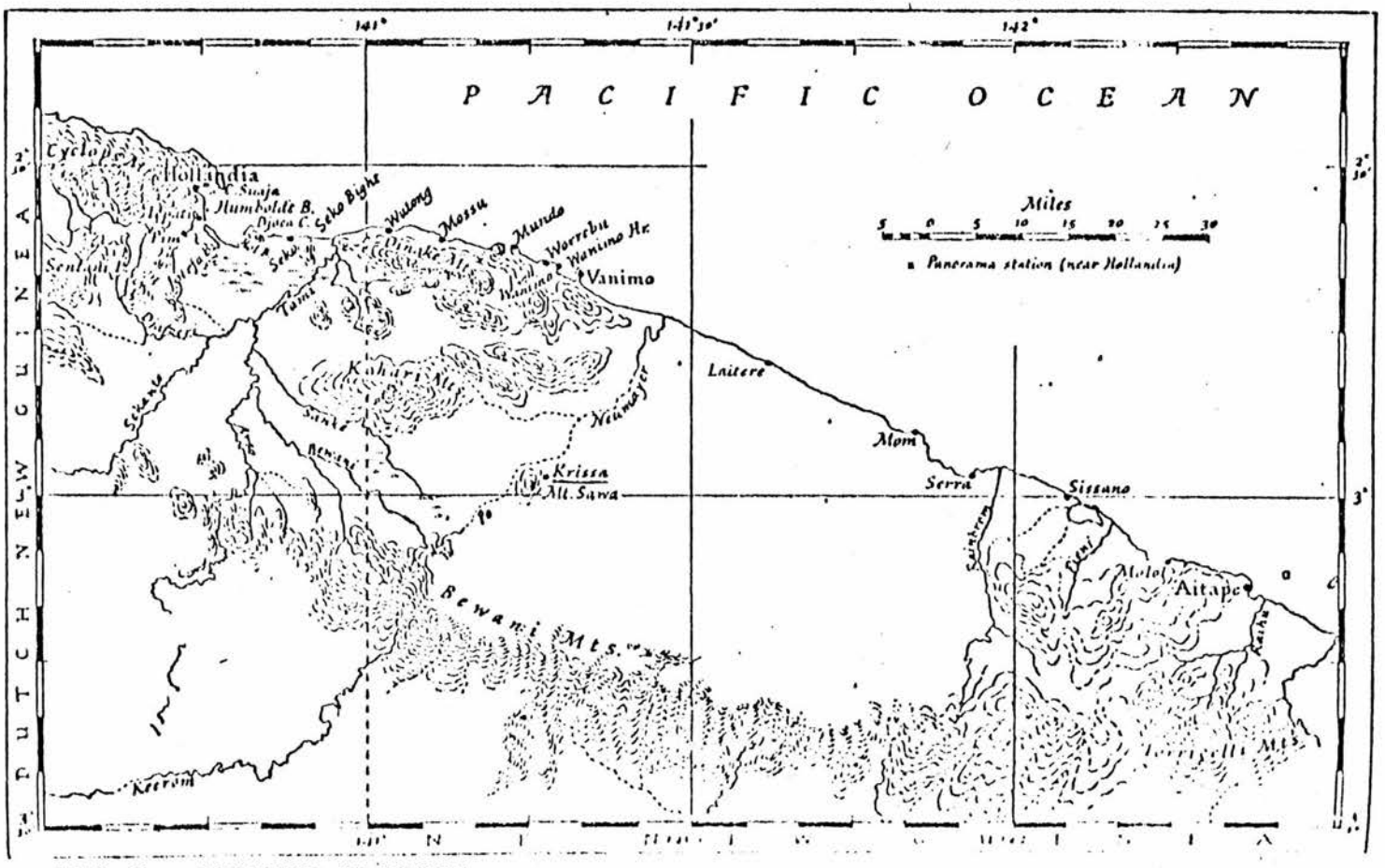
Other peoples of the Sepik area also seem to have a good image of Malays. A zoologist, who travelled through part of the area in 1940 and 'discovered by chance' that before Europeans the Krissa village[1] 'was regularly visited by Malay traders', observes:

> "I was passing the hut of one of the oldest men of the village .... I conversed with him, using Sorn as an interpreter, and asked whether Malay traders used to come there.... He was delighted to talk about the traders who came no more, only his generation remembers them .... I asked whether the villagers liked the traders. The old man beamed, there was no doubt about his feelings: 'Abidi wai-ai! (traders good) he repeated several times.'[2]

That the Puang have a favourable attitude towards Malays at the present time does not, necessarily, indicate that they had the same, or exactly the same, attitude in the past, that is, during the actual contact with Malays. It is true that Malays did not come to rule the Puang and being closer to the Puang, by culture and status, than Europeans are, they did, most likely, treat them on more equal terms than Europeans would do, as can be seen in their intermarriage with the women of the village. But this does not necessarily indicate that Malays were as helpful and protective as we are told now.

The history of Malay contact with Papua New Guinea is not well documented, or examined sufficiently. But

1. At present, 'Krissa' is spelled 'Krisa', and its village is included in Kilimeri Census Division, Vanimo Sub-District, West Sepik District. See also Map 6.
2. L.E. Cheesman, 'The Mountainous Country at the Boundary North New Guinea', in The Geographical Journal, the Royal Geographical Society, London, 1941, Vo.98, No.4, pp.184-85.



MAP 6: LOCATION OF KRISSA
(after L.E. Cheesman, 1941)

it is established that the relationship between Malays and Australian aborigines, who also have an idealized image of Malays at the present time,[1] has included many conflicts in the past. It is, for example, observed:

> "Such hostility towards foreigners, then, was not characteristic of the aborigines in general. Later literary sources amply confirm this estimate of the bad state of aborigine-Malay relations in the Gulf [of Carpentaria] region, however. Searcy, writing of the 'eighties of the last century, records case after case of armed conflict between aborigines and Malays, with ambushes, revenge-expeditions and violent retaliation year after year."[2]

In his voyage to Australia, in which he met Malays in that country personally, M. Flinders writes in 1803:

> "They [Malays] sometimes had skirmishes with the native inhabitants of the coast; Pobassoo [a Malay] himself had been formerly speared in the knee, and a man had been slightly wounded since their arrival in this road: they cautioned us much to beware of the natives."[3]

Although the study of Malay contact with Papua New Guinea is, historically and anthropologically, badly neglected, there is some evidence revealing the unpleasant aspect of this contact.

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1. P. Worsley, 'Early Asian Contacts with Australia', in Past and Present, A Journal of Scientific History, 1955, No.7, pp.8-10.
2. Ibid., p.9.
3. M. Flinders, Voyage to Terra Australis, 1803, Vol.2, pp.231-31.

Concerning the relations between Malays and some New Guineans at the time of German administration, it is said:

> "The Malay's relations with the local population were often strained. In July 1887 the people of the Dugumor and Tombenam villages attacked the twelve Malays working at Hatzfeldhapen while the station superintendent was down with malaria. Six Malays were wounded and one eventually died."[1]

Regarding the same period, it is also observed that, in "several" cases, "bird of paradise hunters ... had been murdered or involved in murderous incidents. An official statement in 1912 had dealt with the special risks of bloodshed incurred, and the need for special restrictive regulations created by the 'ever widening range of the hunt'; and stated that the work was 'regularly carried on by coloured hunters ....'"[2]

It is interesting to add that Malays also have had conflict with local people in the famous Trobrianders islands. Referring to the late 1890s, a resident magistrate in the region states:

> "At the Trobriands we sighted our missing Ada [a boat] at anchor .... The New Guinea boys had always been rather despised by the Malays, and

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1. P. Biskup, 'Foreign Coloured Labour in German New Guinea: A Study in Economic Development', in The Journal of Pacific History, Oxford University Press, 1970, Vol.5, p.90.
2. C.D. Rowley, The Australians in German New Guinea 1914-1921, Melbourne University Press, 1958, p.193.

> therefore were only too glad to get a little of their own back when opportunity offered. Spitting, cursing, and threatening, the Malays were all bumped below and the hatches clapped on ...."[1]

Furthermore, the Puang's idealized image of Malays at present expresses the Puang's view of not only what has happened in the past, but also what is happening now, to them. Their image in question has bearings as much on the Puang-Malay relations in the past as on the Puang-Australian relations at the present time. This is sometimes explicit in their statements. At times they say that, "unlike Australians", Malays did not want to rule them but to help them.

In trying to oppose Australian control in a semi-cargoist way, the Puang give relative support to, and show relative satisfaction with, not only Malays but also almost any non-Australian people known to them, such as Americans and Japanese. In the Puang's view, Americans and Japanese are of course, like Australians, red-skinned and take possession of the New Guinean share of cargo sent by the ancestors. They are, however, preferred to Australians. As has been mentioned earlier, the Puang have good cargoist hopes in Americans, and have a good impression of them because of their experiences in

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1. C.A.W. Monckton, Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate, London, 1920, p.72.

the last World War; and this is despite the fact that Americans are known to have been on the side of Australia in the War.

Japanese are viewed in the same way, although they are not believed to have been as friendly as Americans, or more friendly than Australians, during the War. It is, however, known that in the War they were fighting against Australia. At that time, some Puang men fought for Japan and some for Australia, depending upon which side contacted them, on the plantations or in the Au area, and took them under control.

In the course of my fieldwork, several times rumours spread that Americans or Japanese would be coming soon to replace Australians and to help local people get their own share of cargo. Such rumours were taken very seriously in Puang and many other villages. In one case, the basis of the rumour was that, somewhere in the area, two Americans had been seen to be doing what appeared to me to be, perhaps, a type of land survey. In another case, the basis was that a few men claimed that, on their way back to their villages from indentured labour on a plantation, they had seen one or two Japanese in Wewak, a coastal town, and had been told by the local people in the town, that Japanese would be arriving soon in great numbers.[1]

1. A similar rumour regarding Indonesia, based on a similar favourable attitude towards Indonesians as against Australians, is described in a Lumi Patrol Report (No.5, 1964-65) on the East Au Census Division.

It is often acknowledged that Australians treat New Guineans better, and pay them more for indentured labour, than Germans did in the past. But in situations in which opposition to Australia is felt strongly, it is argued that Germans intended to become friendly to the local people later, but for this very reason Australia did not allow them to stay on. Likewise, it is argued that Malays, the bird-of-paradise shooters, have stopped coming any more, because Australia has prevented them from doing so.

The factual basis of the argument regarding Malays is that the Australian administration has indeed legally forbidden any one, including Malays, to kill birds of paradise for trading and export. The ban is, however, intended merely to protect the birds which otherwise would perhaps be extinct by now.

4. CONCLUSION

So much for Malay contact, which has hardly attracted any attention in Sepik studies. Malay contact, on the one hand, has influenced the formation of Puang traditional beliefs - a subject which will be dealt with later - and on the other, has contributed to recent changes in Puang society.

As far as social change is concerned, Malay contact needs to be studied, first of all, because of its

connection with European contact, which has been the major agent of social change. As will be shown later, in the last hundred years or more, Malays, Chinese, and so forth have often been brought to Papua New Guinea by Europeans and have worked there as the employees of Europeans. In many cases, the contact between Europeans, especially Germans, and local people has taken place through Malays or Chinese, who have acted as intermediaries in this respect. Also, as we have seen, what local people say of these intermediaries, such as Malays, could reveal something about their cargoist, or non-cargoist, attitude towards Europeans, or rather Australians.

One of the effects of recent Malay contact is the linguistic effect, on the one hand, on the Au language, and on the other, on the type of pidgin English spoken in Puang until recently. The connection between certain Malay and Au personal names and words was discussed earlier. The Malay words in pidgin English spoken in Papua New Guinea are known,[1] but this is, or rather was until recently, especially true of the Sepik area, which is near the West Irian (ex-Dutch New Guinea) border. In the long period of the Dutch administration (1828-1962), Malay was the official lingua franca for both civil and missionary use in Dutch New Guinea.

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1. See for example S.W. Reed, 1953, op.cit., p.277.

G.W.L. Townsend spent 25 years in New Guinea (1921-1946), mostly in the Sepik area, as a patrol and district officer working in the bush and with the local people. He writes that, in the early 1920s, when he came to the Sepik region for the first time after having been in Rabaul, he found out, to his surprise, that the pidgin English spoken in Aitape was rather different from that spoken in Rabaul:

> "By the time I left Rabaul for Aitape I felt that I was fully proficient in the use of pidgin English. I was soon undeceived .... I found also that my vocabulary was not sufficiently extensive in this part of the territory and that different terms were in use."[1]

Then he illustrates his point, for example, by saying that, in pidgin English,

> "in Rabaul a native foreman was spoken of as a 'boss-boy'; at Aitape the Malay word mandor[2] was used .... 'Bello', the striking of a bell or gong to mark the meal or other significant hours on the station, was at Aitape known as tandok;[3]; and also with many other terms Malay or German was used."[4]

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1. G.W.L. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., p.54.
2. P. Biskup appears to be wrong in assuming that mandur is a Dutch word (P. Biskup, 'Foreign Coloured Labour in German New Guinea: A Study in Economic Development' in The Journal of Pacific History, Vol.5, 1970, p.90). Mandur is a Malay term of Portuguese origin: R.J. Wilkinson, 1957, A Malay-English Dictionary, p.736; see also S.W. Reed, 1943, op.cit., p.277.
3. Tandok is also a Malay word.
4. G.W. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., pp.54-55.

The Malay language itself, in its pidgin form, has sometimes been partly spoken or understood in the Sepik area. In his travelling through some Sepik villages between 1935 and 1936, H.D. Eve "was greeted by these unknown primitives in Malay expressions. A few terms in the same language were used to designate the recognized trade goods with which he purchased food for his line of carriers."[1] In 1937, Marshall, who made the above-mentioned trip to the Lumi area, writes that a little further west in the Sepik region "the natives are still able to speak a few words of Malay pidgin, a heritage of the old hunters from the [West Irian] border."[2] J.K. McCarthy, an experienced patrol and district officer who visited certain local people in the south of the Sepik area, near the Yellow River, in 1935, observes:

> "The people were friendly when we spoke to them in the Malay pidgin .... They called the Yellow River the 'Yuani', which was also their name for the white man. This I felt, was the influence of the Malay word tuan (master)."[3]

Apart from the linguistic influence, the effects of recent Malay contact with the Puang are briefly as follows. The miscegenation among the Puang and Malays

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1. S.W. Reed, 1943, op. cit., p.92n.
2. A.J. Marshall, 1937, op. cit., p.495. For more recent research referring to the Malay language as being spoken near the West Irian border, in the West Sepik District, see R. Loving and J. Bass, Languages of the Amanab Sub-District, 1964, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Papua New Guinea, p.5.
3. J.K. McCarthy, 1964, op. cit., pp.161-62.

has left some conspicuous evidence. Investigation may, perhaps, show that, as in the case of some Australian aborigines,[1] the pottery manufactured in Puang until very recently originates from Malays. It is most likely that Malays were the first to introduce the Puang to the outside world and to metal tools such as steel knives.

Finally, and above all, recent and pre-European Malay contact has had a traceable impact on Puang thought. As will be discussed later, Puang cargoist beliefs seem to have emerged with the advent of, and in conflict with, Malays rather than Europeans. One of the major Puang myths, approximating a 'creation' myth, and having a cargoist aspect, appears to have developed in response to Malay contact and their guns as new phenomena. In the analysis of the myth, it will be shown that the myth has a puzzling aspect which could be solved only if we take into account pre-European Malay influence, and particularly the Puang's rather unexpected view of the Malay skin-colour.

There is, however, evidently no doubt that the impact of Malay contact on the Puang cannot be compared with that of European contact, to which I am returning now.

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1. R.M. and C.H. Bernolt, 'Discovery of Pottery in North-eastern Arnheim Land', in Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1950, Vol.77, No.11.

CHAPTER EIGHT

E U R O P E A N C O N T A C T

1. EUROPEAN EXPLORATIONS

European contact has been in the form of exploration, administration, economic enterprise mainly by means of establishing plantations, and missionary work. To begin with exploration. In 1616, the Dutch navigators J. Le Maire and W. Schouten vaguely sighted the Sepik River. In their survey of the north-east coast of New Guinea, in the blue sea they reported seeing an area of "green, white, and yellow"[1] with floating tree trunks, and presumed that this was created by the effluent of a mighty river. In 1885, Dr. Otto Finsch, a zoologist and anthropologist, was the first to find the entrance to the Sepik River. He also went 30 miles upstream in a whaleboat - to almost the present position of Marienberg. It was he who named the river, after the Kaiser's consort, 'Kaiserin Augusta'; a name which was later changed to the local name, Sepik, by the Australian administration.

Three further German expeditions took place in 1886, 1887 and 1910 respectively. The first reached 240 miles, and the second 380 miles, upstream. The third one, the German-Dutch boundary expedition, reached as far as 600 miles from the mouth of the river. The last and

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1. G. Souter, 1964, op.cit., p.71.

the largest German expedition was carried out during 1912 and 1913, and tried to explore the Sepik River as well as the Sepik basin. One of the two anthropologists in this expedition was Dr. R. Thurnwald, who was the first to reach the headwaters of the river and to do some earnest ethnographic research near the river. He remained in the field up to 1914, when he had to leave New Guinea because of the outbreak of the First World War.

Australian major pioneering explorations which were partly or wholly concerned with the Sepik region are as follows. In 1927-1928, C. Karius and I.F. Champion, of the Papuan administration, crossed Papua New Guinea at its widest point, from south to north, via the Fly and the Sepik Rivers. In their long journey they visited, among other things, part of the Telefomin Sub-District, West Sepik District, and I.F. Champion made some interesting observations on a village, Bolowip, in the south of this sub-district.[1] In 1933, G.W.L. Townsend, then the district officer of the Sepik District, and H.D. Eve, a geologist of the Oil Search Ltd., did a most extensive exploration in the Sepik (see Map 7). Their journey covered much of the area between Wewak, Pagwi, Maprik, and Aitape, and they made an accurate map of this area

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1. For his observations on the Bolowip village see I.F. Champion, 1967, op.cit.

which was used as a basis for the maps of the Sepik region.[1]

In 1938-1939, the Australian administration carried out its last exploratory expedition in New Guinea, which was planned to explore the area between Mt. Hagen, Western Highland District, and Telefomin. This expedition was led by J.L. Taylor, an assistant district officer, and J. Black, a patrol officer, and was "easily the largest, longest-lasting and best equipped ever mounted in New Guinea or Papua".[2] It lasted 15 months, benefited from aviation and wireless, and included three Europeans, 20 police, and 230 carriers.

The above-mentioned German and Australian explorations did not fully cover the Sepik area, that is, roughly speaking, the present East and West Sepik Districts. It was observed in 1972 that

> "even now it cannot be said that New Guinea has been explored in detail on the ground although through the use of aerial surveys no part remains wholly unknown."[3]

Townsend writes that, prior to the above expedition led by him and Eve in 1933,

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1. For a report on the expedition see G.W.L. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., pp.195-217.
2. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.1, p.388. See also G. Souter, 1964, op.cit., p.189.
3. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.1, p.385.

> "there never had been an accurate map of the [Sepik] District. The one I had was that sent in the annual report to the League of Nations and was on a scale of 1:2,483,000. It was in outline only, showing coastal areas and the Sepik River but leaving most of the hinterland a complete blank ... I did not need absolute accuracy either. It was known that Aitape station, for example, was 20 miles further out to sea than the charts said, but we managed."[1]

And the map produced by the Townsend-Eve Expedition, however important, was, as described earlier, concerned with a small part of the Sepik region.

It should be noted that, as the following map shows, as far as the Sepik area is concerned the above-mentioned explorations were generally concentrated on the Sepik River (and its tributaries) and those parts of the area close to the river. As a result, they did not cover most of the interior of the area, including Au East and Au West Census-Divisions.

The Townsend-Eve Expedition was the only one which focused on part of the interior of the Sepik region. It covered, among other things, a small part of eastern Lumi Sub-District, taking its route to Aitape through the Yapunda Pass in the West Palei Census Division.[2] But it did not reach Au Census-Divisions.

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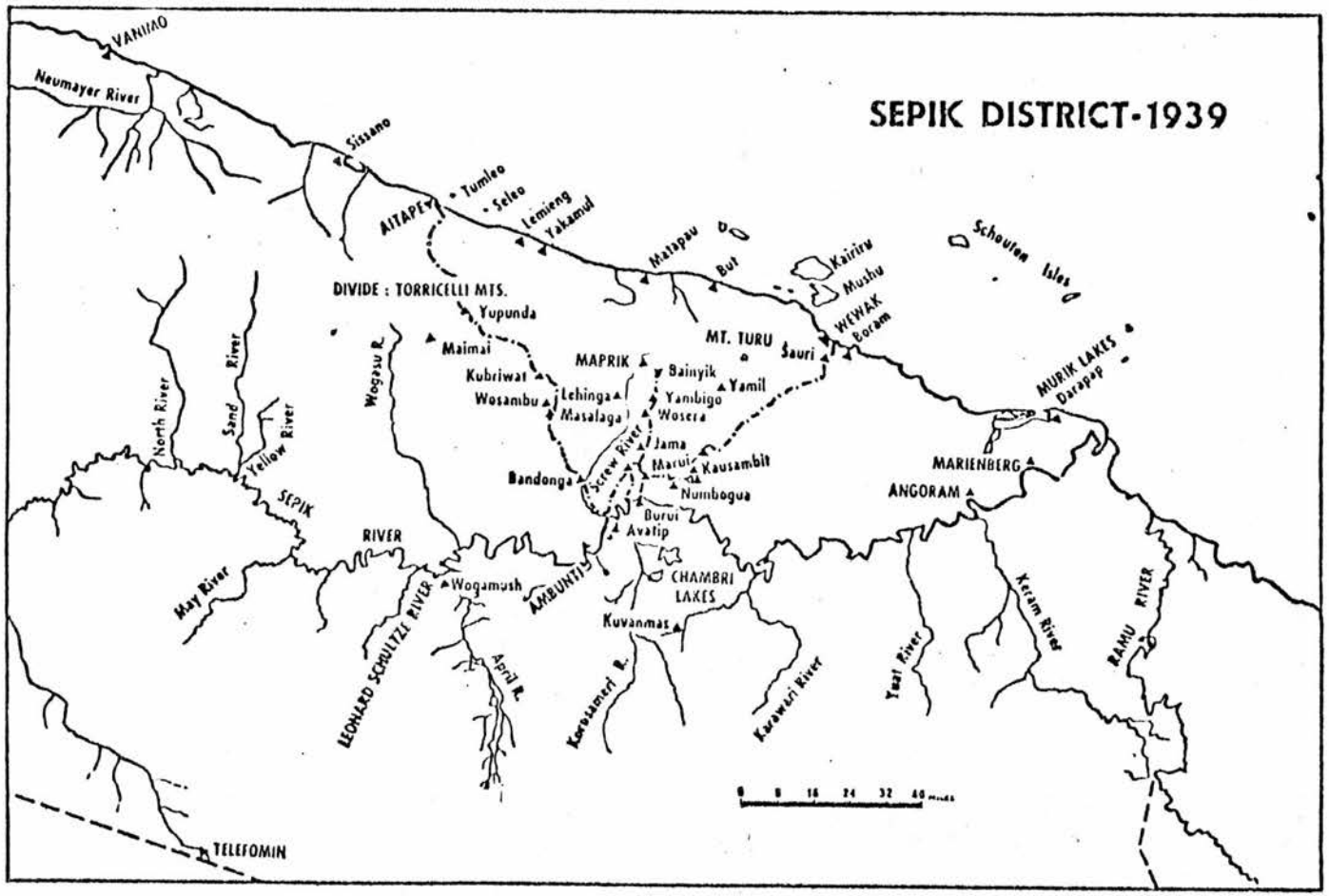
1. G.W.L. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., p.196.
2. Ibid., p.217.



MAP 7: TOWNSEND-EVE MAPPING EXPEDITION, 1933

(after G.W.L. Townsend, 1938)

It would appear that the Australian scientist A.J. Marshall, mentioned earlier, was, in 1936, the first European to visit the Lumi, especially the Au area, for exploratory, and not administrative and recruiting, purposes; and he made some valuable geographical and ethnographic observations. In visiting the Au area, Marshall also seems to have passed through Puang, or rather one of its hamlets, Nikis.[1]

2. GERMAN ADMINISTRATION AND PLANTATIONS

European explorations were often associated with administration and economic enterprise. The first European administration in New Guinea was German. Some Germans had been in the area earlier, but German rule over New Guinea as a Colony started officially in 1885; and it ended in 1914, when New Guinea was occupied by Australian military forces.

Note that the administration of what was known until 1906 as British New Guinea does not concern us here. British New Guinea consisted of the area now called Papua, as against New Guinea, in the Australian territory of Papua New Guinea (see Map 8). It was a British Protectorate between 1884 and 1888 and then

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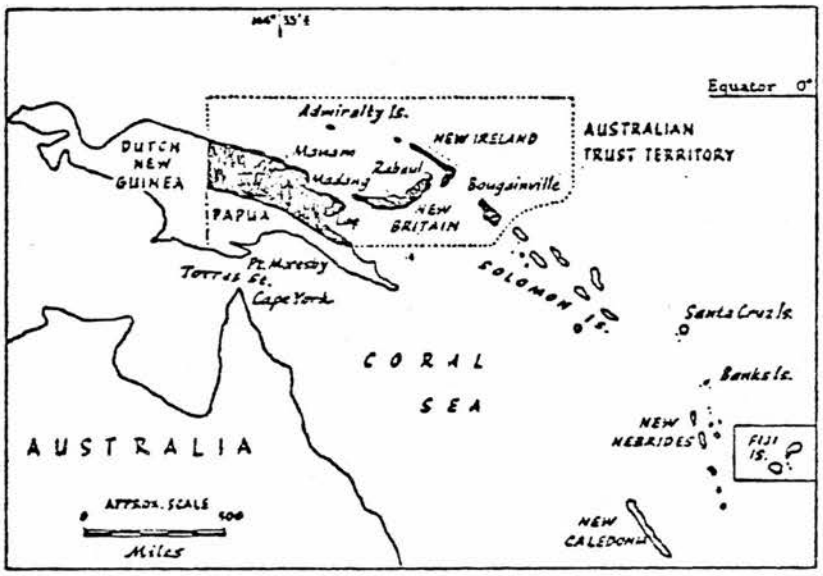
1. A.J. Marshall, 1938, op.cit., pp.43 Sq., 254 Sq. See also A.J. Marshall, 1937, op.cit., p.494.

became a British Colony until 1906, when it was taken over as an Australian territory and officially renamed Papua.



Australian Trust Territory (black) and Melanesian Islands

Map 8.

German New Guinea, which is basically the same area as the present part of the island called New Guinea and administered by Australia, was divided into only two districts. The Western District consisted of the mainland section (or Kaiser Wilhelmsland) including the Sepik region, and the Eastern District included the Bismarck Archipelago, Buka, and Bougainville. In

the Western District, the district office was located at Madang, not in the Sepik. The stations established in the Sepik were not of primary importance in this respect: there was a 'second class' station at Aitape[1] opened in 1906, a 'third class' station at Angoram opened in 1913, and a missionary station at Marienberg established in 1913.[2]

As the locations and the small number of the above stations of secondary importance show, full or partial administrative control over the Sepik region was very limited. It was confined to the coastal area and a small part of the Sepik River. Note that although Marienberg was some 30 miles upstream from the mouth of the river, it was only eight miles inland from the sea.[3] Besides, the above stations were staffed by only a very limited number of officials. For example, the Aitape station "had two or three officials and a detachment of the police force".[4]

> "As late as 1908 there were only fifty-six officials in German New Guinea. This fact alone accounted for the slow extension of German administrative control up to that time."[5]

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1. Aitape used to be spelled Eitape.
2. C.D. Rowley, 1958, op.cit., p.36.
3. G.W.L. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., p.69.
4. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.1, p.489.
5. Ibid., p.488.

In the interior of the Sepik region some of the local peoples, such as the Puang, did however come into prolonged personal contact with Germans. This was because labour recruiters did, and were officially permitted to, enter uncontrolled areas in order to take local men to plantations for indentured labour. The interests of the administration were closely linked with plantations; and it is said that "in German times, a plantation had been established at each Government station".[1] A plantation at Berlinhafen, near Aitape, had begun to be established even before the government station at Aitape, that is, not in or after 1906 but in the late 1890s.[2]

The Puang say that they have been in contact with Germans and have worked in German plantations. They say, in describing indentured labour in German plantations that payments and conditions of work, such as food, number of working hours, medical care and accommodation, were worse than now, that labour contracts were for three years and that, what is more, local labourers were flogged.

The Puang's description of labour in German plantations is factually correct: the payments and working conditions were definitely worse than now,[3] the

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1. G.W.L. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., p.53.
2. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.1, p.487.
3. Around 1896, local peoples' description of the conditions of work in German plantations was: 'No Kaikai [food], no Sunday, plenty fight, plenty die': L.P. Mair, Australia in New Guinea, Second edit., Melbourne University Press, 1970, p.178.

contracts were, at least initially, for three years, and planters and indeed any private settler including missionaries had, according to German labour laws, the right to flog. The Puang have also seen and had German New Guinea coins, introduced in 1894, for the first time[1] and say that in other Au villages some people still have a few German coins.

German contact is also reported for Wulukum, an Au village, three-hour's walk from Puang:

> "About the year 1910 during the German administration, the first recruiters came to Wulukum and took with them six men to work on New Ireland plantations. This appears to have been the first contact which Europeans made with the village. Of these six, two died at the plantations, and the rest returned after having worked for six years (the latter three years against their will). Since then another two have died."[2]

Exactly at what date the Puang came into contact with Germans is difficult to say. The date given in the above quotation for the Wulukum village, 1910, is not backed by any evidence or argument. It may however be, roughly speaking, true of Wulukum as well as Puang, because the above-mentioned German stations in the Sepik region were all established between 1906 and 1913 except that, as referred to earlier, a plantation had

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1. P. Biskup, 1970, op.cit., p.89.
2. O.C. Fountain, 1966, op.cit., p.8.

begun to be laid out near Aitape in the late 1890s.

What makes the date in question especially difficult to determine is that the Puang and many other peoples in the interior of the Sepik area might have come into contact with Germans, surprisingly enough, after German rule ended in New Guinea.

The majority of German plantation-owners did, and Australia permitted them to, remain and continue their business in New Guinea (subject only to certain military and financial restrictions) after Germany surrendered the country to Australian military forces in 1914. As late as 1919, 140 of the 197 'settlers and planters' in New Guinea were German.[1]

The deportation of German planters immediately after the occupation of New Guinea could, it was argued, create disorder in planter-labourer relations to the disadvantage of Europeans and cause damage to plantations. Some plantations which were in remote and isolated localities could be badly damaged by local people if they were left unguarded by Europeans. Also Australia could not, it was further argued, fully replace German officials by Australians immediately after taking over New Guinea, especially because she had to administer the country in accord with the existing German laws.[2]

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1. C.D. Rowley, 1958, op.cit., p.58.
2. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.2, p.843.

Australia occupied New Guinea by military conquest and according to international law

> "a military occupant, though vested with almost absolute power, is not the sovereign of a territory, and therefore lacks the right to make legal or administrative changes, except to maintain and safeguard his army and to realize the purpose of the war."[1]

In 1919 the Australian government set up a Royal Commission to report, among other things, on the measures to be taken for the expropriation of German plantations and business and the deportation of German nationals. Between 1924 and 1926 German properties were offered to Australians for sale. And it was only by 1928 that the process of the expropriation and deportation in question was finished entirely.

In most of the period (1914-1921) in which Australian administration in New Guinea was a military one, German labour regulations remained, despite some improvements, basically unchanged. Thus the above-mentioned description, by the Puang, of indentured labour in German plantations is basically applicable to the same plantations even after 1914. Consequently, it does not indicate that the Puang were contacted by Germans, necessarily, before 1914.

In the whole period of Australian military administration, three years as the statutory period of

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1. C.D. Rowley, 1958, op.cit., p.4.

labour contracts (in their initial stage) was maintained. The use of German currency was prohibited as late as 1919, and was found necessary to be prohibited again in 1920.[1] Flogging was, in its full sense, abolished only in 1922.[2] Allegations of floggings were, however, made up to at least a few years later and became a public issue in Australia.[3]

German labour recruiters were also active in the Sepik area after 1914. It is, for example, recorded that in June 1918, in an uncontrolled part of the area, seven days' walk inland from Aitape, two German recruiters were killed by local people.[4] In September 1918 a German recruiter, called Fritsche, informed the Administrator of New Guinea of the time, G.J.J. Johnston, that some 250 miles from the mouth of the Sepik River local people had attacked his local assistants while he had been engaged in recruiting.[5]

The last point to be made regarding German administration and plantations has a bearing on the relation between European and Malay contacts under

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1. C.D. Rowley, 1958, op.cit., pp.65-67.
2. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.2, p.845.
3. C.D. Rowley, 1958, op.cit., pp.136-151,325.
4. Ibid., p.201.
5. Ibid., p.202. For a different version of this event see G.W.L. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., pp.100-101.

consideration. Germans imported Malay - and Chinese - labour to New Guinea to a considerable degree. In 1885 the very foundation party of Germans arriving in the country consisted of five Europeans and 37 Malays. In 1887, 64 more Malays were introduced by Germans. In 1892, in the mainland (Kaiser Wilhelmsland), including the Sepik region, Malays numbered as many as 757. In 1893, in the same area, the Malay population reached its all-time peak, namely about 900. Thereafter, owing to politico-economic reasons, the importation of Malay labour decreased for some years; but it was on the increase again, though in much smaller scale, in the late period of German administration. In the mainland, Malays, who were only 25 by 1906, numbered 85 in 1908, 101 in 1911, and 68 in 1912. In 1914 the Malay population of German New Guinea as a whole was 163, about half of whom were in the mainland, especially the Sepik region.[1]

South-east Asian labour was imported mainly because it was believed that New Guinea was under-populated, that local people were in any case harder, if not more costly, to recruit, and that south-east Asians were more familiar with, and more suitable for, employment in European plantations there. In addition

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1. P. Biskup, 1970, op.cit.

it was thought that semi-skilled labour, such as that necessary for building and house-work, neither would attract Europeans nor could be undertaken by local inhabitants.

Apart from being unskilled and often indentured labourers, Malays were employed as carpenters, fitters, builders, cooks, house-servants, plantation overseers, clerks, shop assistants, and so forth. Also, the German police force formed in 1888 consisted mainly of Malays.[1]

Furthermore, Malays were employed as professional shooters of the birds of paradise, especially by German planters around Aitape, in the Sepik region and Madang (Friedrich Wilhelmshafen), and were sent even to uncontrolled areas in the interior of the mainland to shoot these birds. Hence the Puang had a chance of being contacted by the Malay bird-shooters.

It should, however, be noted that the Malay-Puang contact did not, necessarily, start in German times. As we have seen, German rule in New Guinea began in 1885; whereas the Netherlands colonized the western part of the island of New Guinea, now called West Irian and controlled by Indonesia, as early as 1828. From the early stage of their rule, the Dutch were also

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1. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.2, p.918; S.W. Reed, 1943, op.cit., p.141.

interested in the bird-of-paradise trade and had more Malays to employ as hunters. Malays, as Dutch employees, sometimes crossed the border between Dutch and German New Guinea to shoot the birds in the Sepik and other areas; and they continued to do so occasionally even after German rule, that is in the early period of Australian administration. For example, Townsend writes:

> "For several years after this [event in the early 1920s] our patrols in the hinterland of Vanimo crossed the tracks of Malay shooters from over the border and on two occasions Malays who were armed with bird guns were arrested."[1]

The border between Dutch and German New Guinea was not determined and controlled adequately; and was never the subject of a formal treaty between Germany and the Netherlands. After Australia took over the former German New Guinea, Australians and the Dutch attempted to determine their common border, although partially and as late as 1933.[2]

Earlier I described in detail an event which, according to my elderly informants, happened in Puang; From a place which is said to be somewhere in the west

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1. G.W.L. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., p.66. See also I.F. Champion, 1967, op.cit., p.105; A.J. Marshall, 1938, op.cit., p.198.
2. J. Tudor, 1969, op.cit., p.19.

of the Lumi station, two Malays came to Puang and, while trying to shoot birds of paradise, were struck by thunder and died. It is possible, as the maps would show, that these Malays came over to the Sepik region from Dutch New Guinea.

Europeans had commercial interest in the birds of paradise - which are also, as will be seen, of interest to the Puang in ritual, mythology, and totemism - for a long time. To give a very brief account here: In the early 1500s, for the first time Europeans came to know the birds, or rather the birds' dried skins, with feathers attached and without feet. It was in that period that early European voyagers were presented with the birds' dried skins in the Moluccas. Since the birds' plumage was unusually magnificent and colourful and local people were in the habit of giving the birds to Europeans only after killing and cutting off the feet of the birds, a myth developed in Europe that the birds fly and live in the 'highest sky'[1] forever and that the female incubates the egg on the hollowed back of the male. Hence the Portuguese called the birds 'birds of the sun' and the Dutch named them 'birds of paradise'. In 1522 the

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1. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.1, p.86.

skins of the birds reached Great Britain[1] and by 1598 they had been carried to Holland.[2]

Soon after the discovery of the birds of paradise the birds' plumage became an article of commerce in Europe, especially for ladies' head-dresses; and the more Europeans contacted New Guinea, the more they grew interested in the plume trade. Since 1830, that is, only two years after Dutch rule began in New Guinea, the birds' dried skins became an 'important product'[3] in Dutch New Guinea; and a major centre of the plume trade happened to be Hollandia, which is very close to the Sepik area.[4] In German New Guinea a large number of Europeans, whether planters or officials or missionaries, were involved in trading in feathers as a sideline. Some German plantations were even founded on the profits of the feathers.[5] The peak of the millinery plume-trade was between 1880 and 1920 during which some 20,000 to 80,000 skins were exported to Europe every year.[6]

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1. F.H.H. Guillemard (ed.), Australasia, 1908, Vol.2, p.381.
2. A.R. Wallace, The Malay Archipelego: The Land of the Orangutan and the Birds of Paradise. A narrative of Travel, with Studies of Man and Nature, Seventh edit., London, 1890, p.420.
3. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.1, p.280.
4. A.J. Marshall, 1938, op.cit., Chap.XIX ('Hollandia and the Plume Trade'): pp.194-204.
5. C.D. Rowley, 1958, op.cit., p.193.
6. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.88-89.

The Australian administration prohibited shooting the birds and the export of skins by 1921, and later even the possession of skins. The Dutch administration made a similar prohibition after 1921.[1] In the meantime, the European market for skins declined. There is, however, evidence that, illegally, the sale of skins continued for some years afterwards.[2]

In the whole duration of the plume-trade, south-east Asians, especially Malays, were often intermediaries between Europeans on the one hand and the local people and their birds-of-paradise on the other. The British scientist, A.R. Wallace, who had, incidentally, some Malays with him as servants and bird-of-paradise shooters[3] in his 1854-1862 voyage to the Malay Archipelago including Dutch New Guinea, gives further evidence for this point, by direct observation, in his book on the Archipelago.

3. AUSTRALIAN ADMINISTRATION AND PLANTATIONS

The history of Australian administration could be divided into different periods and the first two periods

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1. G.W.L. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., pp.65-66; I.F. Champion, 1967, op.cit., pp.105-106.
2. G.W.L. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., pp.63-66; A.J. Marshall, 1938, op.cit., p.193.
3. A.R. Wallace, 1890, op.cit., pp. such as 252, 312, 349, 367 and 385.

are as follows. In the first period (1914-1921) the administration was, as mentioned earlier, a military one. The second period (1921-1942) began with a civil administration under a mandate from the League of Nations and ended with the invasion of New Guinea by Japan in the Second World War.

During these two periods, especially the second one, the Sepik region came under more administrative control. In that region German stations were developed and further stations were laid out. The new stations were at Vanimo[1] opened in 1918, at Wewak[2] by 1920, at Ambunti[3] in 1924, at Maprik[4] in 1937, and at Maimai[5] in 1938. Townsend observes that the Sepik "District, in German times had an estimated population of 30,000, but our patrols over the years had raised the figure to 150,000 [in 1933] ...."[6]

The Sepik region was, however, far from being totally controlled. As the locations of the above stations show, the areas under full control were still mainly confined to those near the coast and the Sepik

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1. C.D. Rowley, 1958, op.cit., p.43. 'Vanimo' used to be spelled 'Wanimo'.
2. Ibid., p.44.
3. G. Souter, 1964, op.cit., p.175.
4. G.W.L. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., p.234.
5. Ibid., pp.234-235; J.K. McCarthy, 1964, op.cit., p.150.
6. G.W.L. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., p.219.

River. In 1924 "only one-sixth of the huge Sepik District was under control".[1] In the 1930s, in the same district,

> "the area of administrative control virtually [was] about 250-mile mark above its [the Sepik River's] mouth and the land enclosed by its tributaries on the southern side."[2]

Even in 1970,

> "there was still a total area of 670 square miles (in the Western Highlands and West Sepik Districts) which was classified as not being fully under administrative control."[3]

The Lumi Sub-District seems to have come partly into contact with Australian administration since the 1920s. Official records indicate that 'there has been constant Administration contact since 1929 to most parts of the Division [West Wapei Census-Division]'.[4] Some Au villages, such as Nakil, had their government-appointed head-men (P.E. Luluai) by 1936.[5]

The Lumi and especially the Au area, being remote from the coast and the Sepik River, were, however, at most under partial control until the end of the second

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1. L.P. Mair, 1970, op.cit., p.40.
2. J.K. McCarthy, 1964, op.cit., p.44; see also p.140.
3. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.1, p.266; see also L.P. Mair, 1970, op.cit., p.41.
4. Lumi Patrol Report, No.4, 1970-1971.
5. A.J. Marshall, 1938, op.cit., pp.62-64.

period of Australian administration. In the description of his 1933 exploration of the Sepik region Townsend says, only after having passed the West Palei Census-Division and having crossed the Torricelli Mountains to reach the coast, that "We were now back in controlled territory and this fact led the police and the carriers to relax their vigilance".[1]

There was not yet a notable government station in what is now called the Lumi Sub-District during the second period of Australian administration. The one at Maimai, mentioned above, was merely a minor patrol post, established as late as 1938 and basically intended to protect and help the Oil Search Ltd at that time. Maimai was the main place "from which the oil company was operating"[2] and as far as the company was concerned, "it looked as though the long-sought-for 'dome' had been found ... at Maimai".[3] The patrol post seems to have been abandoned during, or soon after, the Second World War. It is not part of post-War Australian administration, nor is there any sign of it on the maps of the Sepik region after the War.

In the first two periods of Australian administration, although government control over the Sepik region was not

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1. G.W.L. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., p.217.
2. Ibid., p.236.
3. J.K. McCarthy, 1964, op.cit., p.150.

extended very much, the contact between the Sepik people, as indentured labourers, and Europeans increased by far more than German times. And this increase was only partly because the importation of foreign labour, such as Malays and Chinese, was abandoned.

In New Guinea as a whole, the number of local workers rose from 17,000 in 1914 under German rule to almost 31,000 in 1921.[1] Labour recruitment was not carried out in different parts of New Guinea evenly. The mainland, especially the Sepik region, gradually became the main source of recruitment as the Bismarck Archipelago was the major recruiting ground in German times. In 1939, out of 45,105, the enumerated adult male population of this region, 11,881 were employed.[2] In 1940 this region supplied one quarter of all indentured labour in New Guinea.[3]

It is most likely that the Australians began to recruit the Puang for work on plantations in the early 1920s, if not earlier. There are a number of very old men in the village now all of whom, except one (called Heikne and listed among my main informants), say that the first time they were taken to the plantations was in

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1. L.P. Mair, 1970, op.cit., p.190.
2. Ibid., p.191.
3. P. Worsley, The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of 'Cargo' Cults in Melanesia, Second edit., 1970, London, Paladin, p.49; see also G.W.L. Townsend, 1968, op.cit., p.219.

their early youth. Australian "recruiting agents were active along the [Sepik] river from the first days of Australian administration"[1] in 1914. It is recorded that since the early 1920s, if not before that, Walter Hooker, a recruiter, was active in the Lumi Sub-District for over a decade.[2] In 1936, Marshall, accompanied by this recruiter, personally observed that the people of some Au, and many Wapei, villages had grown very used to going to plantations for contract labour and consequently could converse in pidgin English well although some more inaccessible Au villages, such as Bogasip and Witweis, were still nearly untouched. Speaking of what are almost certainly the people of the Nikis hamlet, he writes:

> "... several had been recruited and gone to work and returned. Many of the villagers now speak pidgin-English; there is plenty of steel ... in the village."[3]

In the third period of Australian rule (1942-1946) the administration was again a military one, known as ANGAU (Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit), which replaced the civil administration after the Japanese invasion of New Guinea, at Rabaul, in January 1942. Japanese forces invaded the Sepik region in the late

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1. L.P. Mair, 1970, op.cit., p.38.
2. A.J. Marshall, 1938, op.cit., pp.6,12,21.
3. Ibid., p.43. Cf. A.J. Marshall, 1937, op.cit., p.494.

1942,[1] and occupied many parts of New Guinea for over three years.[2]

As mentioned earlier, the Puang, like many other local peoples, took part in the Second World War, some on the side of Japan and more on the side of Australia. The experiences which the Puang had during the War has a special significance for the development of their cargoist beliefs; and this will be considered later in the study of the cargo cult.

The fourth period, which is continuing up to now (1973), began in 1946 with a civil administration under the trusteeship agreement of the United Nations Organization. In 1949, the administrations of New Guinea and Papua merged and the resulting union of the two territories was named 'the territory of Papua and New Guinea'. In 1971 this name was changed to 'Papua New Guinea', as has been used in the present study.[3]

In the fourth period administrative control over the Sepik region has increased to almost full extent. In Papua New Guinea as a whole, "in 1949, there were seventy-seven government stations of all kinds and by 1969 their total number had more than doubled".[4]

1. J.K. McCarthy, 1964, op.cit., p.215. According to the following publication, the Sepik region was invaded in early 1942: Annual Report of the Territory of New Guinea, 1946-47, quoted in B. Essai, Papua and New Guinea. A Contemporary Survey, Melbourne, Oxford Press, 1961, p.235.
2. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.1, p.21.
3. Ibid., Vol.2, p.982.
4. Ibid., pp.267-268.

This is also, to say the least, true of the East and West Sepik Districts.

As far as the Lumi Sub-District is concerned, in 1948 a patrol post was established at Lumi, in a sense the first one in the history of the Lumi area. By 1961 this patrol post had developed into the sub-district headquarters station, and a patrol post had been opened at Nuku. In 1973, a few months before I left the field, another patrol post was opened at Anguganak, less than a half-day walk from Puang.

At the beginning the Lumi patrol post was not staffed adequately and, consequently, all the villages in the area could not have been patrolled. "Administration influence was necessarily limited with two officers at Lumi responsible for law and order among 45,000 people in the Sub-District ..."[1]

The first Lumi patrol report in which Puang is mentioned as one of the villages visited officially is dated 1951-1952 and includes the following statement:

> "Puang - large village with several hamlets. Actual population probably 375. Quite co-operative and no difficulty should be experienced in obtaining food and carriers. Road in good condition when dry."[2]

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1. Lumi Patrol Report, No.8, 1968-1969.
2. Lumi Patrol Report, No.4, 1951-1952.

Since the above-mentioned date the relationship between the Australian administration and the Puang has increased considerably and has taken various forms. Traditional warfare has been stopped entirely. Taxation has been introduced. Officers visit the village almost once a year, and sometimes more often. The village has its government-appointed representative, at first a village-headman (P.E. Luluai) and later, since 1967, a village-councillor. In Papua New Guinea, so far there have been three general elections, in 1964, 1968, and 1972, in all of which the Puang have taken part and thus have been officially represented in the House of Assembly.

Since 1950 the administration has encouraged the peoples of the Lumi Sub-District to grow cash crops, namely, peanuts, coffee, and rice. Since 1960 the Puang have tried to grow coffee and rice to some extent. By 1964, a primary 'T'[1] school, with English as the medium of instruction, was opened at Bairap, a one-hour walk from Puang. In 1973, some 15 pupils, all male, from Puang were attending the school. A hospital for the local people was established at Lumi almost at the same

1. With regard to curriculum, primary schools are divided into Australian (A) and territory (T). The former follow the syllabus of State schools in New South Wales, Australia, and the latter is especially designed for the territory of Papua New Guinea.

time as the commencement of the patrol post (1948). And in the middle of the 1950s, one medical aid-post was opened in the Au East Census-Divison, at Wublagil, and another in the Au West Census-Division, at Puang.[1]

TABLE 15: Administration Health Personnel in the Lumi Sub-District in 1971

Type of Personnel	Numbers Employed
Aid-Post orderly	17
Hospital Orderly	7
Health Education Orderly	1
Health Extension Officer	1
Dental Assistant	1

After the Second World War, the Sepik region, especially the West Sepik District due to its being very under-developed, remained a major source for labour recruitment for some years.

> "By 1946 Indentured Labourers were in heavy demand on all coastal plantations, and the Lumi Sub-District proved both a willing and a reliable source of such recruits.

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1. The aid-post orderly at Puang was a man (Wayowi) from Puang, who became a cargo cult leader and committed suicide in 1962. After his death the aid-post was not staffed until 1973.

> To the time of writing there is not one male person between the ages of 20 and 45 years in the Au who has not completed two or more years as a labourer on a coastal plantation."[1]

But in the 1950s recruiters grew increasingly dependent on labour from the Central Highlands. In the early 1960s the Lumi Sub-District was, however, still of importance for recruitment and was, considering the 'one-third system' agreement, sometimes over-recruited: According to this system the recruiters had agreed with the administration not to recruit more than one-third of the adult male population from any village. But as the following statistics show, in the case of Au West villages, which include Puang, the number of men working on plantations was more than one-third of the adult male population:

TABLE 16: Absentees from Au Census-Divisions Working on Plantations

Census Division	Year	Total Adult M.	Gov. Quota: 1/3 of Adult M.	Absentees: Adult M.	Absentees as % of Total Population
Au East	1962-3	1392	464	235	5.1
Au West	1963-4	1072	357	424	8.8

M. = Male Gov. = Government

In the Sub-District, especially the Au area, the situation changed soon afterwards:

1. Lumi Patrol Report, No.8, 1968-1969.

TABLE 17. ABSENTEES FROM AU VILLAGES WORKING ON PLANTATIONS IN 1972

Names of Villages	Total Adult M.	Gov. Quota: 1/3 of Adult M.	Absentees: Adult M.	All Absentees: M., F. & C.	Total Absentees as % of total population
Puang	163	54	61	76	16.8
Witikin	61	20	27	27	13.7
Tumentonik	63	21	24	25	12.9
Yemnu	151	50	55	92	18.4
Piem	52	17	19	21	12.6
Lipoam	93	31	37	40	15.6
Nakil	56	18	19	24	13.7
Pinkil	33	11	15	15	12.6
Wititai	76	25	31	44	18.1
Witweis & Wasin	137	45	33	37	9.3
Warin	75	25	29	29	15.8
Witeili	23	7	6	6	9.2
Yutabi	26	8	4	7	8.2
Anguganak	68	22	11	20	8.2
Brugap	92	30	33	47	16.9
Winaluk	39	13	1	1	0.7
Wulukum	75	25	12	13	5.1
Yankok	65	21	16	17	9.8
Grand Total	1348	443	433	541	
Average	70	23	22	28	11.9

M = Male F = Female C = Child Gov. = Government

> "At the height of recruiting in the Lumi Sub-District some 2,500 men were sent out each year. By 1966 this figure had dropped to 150 with no man from the Au being accepted as a recruit. This situation arose as a result of the high incident of labour desertion and the expressed wish of employers that they not be supplied with Au men."[1]

But by the time I went to the field the Puang (and Au people in general) were being recruited again. After finishing their two-year contract, men returned to the village often only to go back for another two-year contract after a few weeks or months. Besides, in order to find further work men had begun to go, sometimes with their wives and children, to coastal towns, especially Aitape, without having made any contract. As a result a high proportion of able-bodied and active men, and some women and children, were usually absent from the village (see Table 17).

4. EUROPEAN MISSIONS

Roman Catholic Missions were among the early missions to arrive in Papua New Guinea, and so far have been the most influential Missions in the Sepik region, that is, East and West Sepik Districts, throughout European contact. In August 1896, six members of the

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1. Lumi Patrol Report, No.8, 1968-1969; see also Lumi Patrol Report No.6, 1965-1966.

Catholic Mission of the Divine Word (SVD) arrived at Friederich Wilhelmshafen (Madang). They sailed 275 miles farther up on the northern coast of New Guinea and settled on the island of Tumleo. In March 1899 the first nuns joined the Mission on the island. At first the Mission was active on the coast of the Sepik region towards the border of Dutch New Guinea, and had its first two stations on the islands of Tumleo and Ali, not far from where the German administration opened a station at Aitape later (1906).[1] In 1905 the Mission acquired Alexishafen, north of Madang, and this became its headquarters in 1909.[2] In 1913, the first inland station was opened at Marienberg on the lower part of the Sepik River. By 1914 a chain of further stations were established, along five hundred miles, on the coast-line of Sepik and Madang regions. The 1911-1912 report of the Royal Commission on German New Guinea mentioned 17 'establishments' of the Mission on the northern coast of New Guinea.[3] The same report briefly describes eight Catholic schools on the Aitape coast, with changeable attendances of "100 to 300 children".[4]

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1. Wantok Publications Inc., 75 Years in New Guinea: Divine Word Missionaries 1896-1971, P.O. Box 298, Wawak, Papua New Guinea, undated, pp.7-8.
2. P. Lawrence, 1967, op.cit., p.56. Cf. C.D. Rowley, 1958, op.cit., p.256; Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.1, p.496.
3. C.D. Rowley, 1958, op.cit., p.256.
4. Ibid.

At the time of the German rule the Catholic Mission of the Divine Word tried to use German, instead of pidgin English, as the main medium of instruction in its schools. There is direct evidence for this at least in the case of the island of Tumleo in 1901.[1]

Besides, although the Mission had been founded in Holland (1875),[2] it was staffed mostly by Germans. Thus the Mission was faced with a problem after Australia took over New Guinea and decided to deport Germans and expropriate their property. The 1919 Royal Commission which recommended the deportation of Germans and the expropriation of their property did indeed make no exception for German missionaries. This recommendation was not, however, ultimately applied to the German Missions. The percentage of German missionaries was reduced but still remained considerable. By January 1913, missionaries numbered 179 out of which 155 were German.[3] In 1940 these figures changed to 676 and 374 respectively.[4] The Divine Word Mission adopted pidgin English as the main medium of instruction possibly between 1921 and 1922.[5]

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1. C.D. Rowley, 1958, op.cit., p.249.
2. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.1, p.496.
3. C.D. Rowley, 1958, op.cit., p.253.
4. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.2, p.779.
5. C.D. Rowley, 1958, op.cit., pp.266-267.

In the course of Australian administration the Catholic Mission of the Divine Word continued to extend its influence in the Sepik region, as the following statistics show. Note that in official records these statistics are given for 'Central New Guinea' and not for East and West Sepik Districts. But the Mission used the expression 'Central New Guinea' in the following senses: In 1928 "Central New Guinea ... comprised what is now the West Sepik District", and in 1931 it was "extended to include what is now the East Sepik District".[1]

TABLE 18: The Growth of the Catholic Mission of the Divine Word in East and West Sepik Districts[2]

Year	Stations	Expatriate Personnel	Local Personnel	Land Holdings	Adherents[3]
1931	65	56	62	a. 2,860 b. 782	11,500
1935	199	85	158	-	27,193
1940	239	107	191	a. 7,000 b. 1,270	42,872

a: Held Hectares
b: Cultivated Hectares

1. Wantok Publications, undated, op.cit., p.9.
2. According to the Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea (Vol.2, p.778) the Mission established 'a separate vicariate in the Sepik region in 1928'. This would appear to be incorrect. What is said in this regard in one of the publications of the Mission itself (Wantok Publications Inc., op.cit., pp.8-9) is that, in 1928, the West Sepik District became a 'prefect apostolic' with Father J. Loerks as its first prefect apostolic. And it was only in 1931 that Sepik (cont.)

Before the Second World War although the influence of the Mission was very extensive in the areas near the coast of the Sepik region and the lower part of the Sepik River, it did not cover most of the interior, including the Lumi Sub-District. The Puang did, however, come to know of the Mission long before the War. Before the War the Mission's direct influence almost reached the northern border of the Sub-District.[1] The Divine Word missionaries visited the Sub-District a number of times. The Lumi people in the Somoro Census-Division had traditional trade relations with Aitape, near where the Mission had some of its long-standing stations. Moreover, on their way to, or back from, plantations, the Puang, like other Sepik contract labourers, were usually stopped at Aitape, Vanimo, and so forth for official and legal formalities. Since the Sepik people were most often sent to plantations, such as those at Kavieng (New Ireland) and Kieta (Bougainville), which are situated outside the Sepik region, the Puang also saw or heard of other Christian Missions in New Guinea before the War. In the Puang village, sometimes men

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2. (continued from the previous page) Districts, East and West, both became 'a Vicariate with Msgr. Loerks as its first bishop'.
3. The Mission's definition of an adherent is not made clear to my knowledge, but would appear to be very broad.

1. I.R.G. Ward and D.A.M. Lea, 1970, op.cit., p.23.

tried to describe to me the characteristic rituals of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission, which began its work on Bougainville in 1921 and 1924.[1]

In 1946, missionary work in the Aitape area was entrusted by the Roman Catholic Church to the Order of Friars Minor (Australian), or Australian Franciscans. This Catholic Order was the first to exercise direct influence in the Lumi Sub-District and is still the largest mission there. It established its first station in the Sub-District at Lumi in 1947, that is, a year before the administration opened its first station in the area near the same site. It laid out further missionary stations, some of them soon afterwards, at Fatima, Yili, Yemnu, Karaitem, Yauluwape, Carmel, Ningil and Laimgim.

The Yili and Yemnu villages, the stations of which were opened in the early 1950s, are some two hours walk apart, located in the Au West Census-Division, and Puang lies between them. The Yili and Yemnu stations both have pidgin English schools mainly for religious instruction, trade-stores, and dispensaries. The Mission has also tried to open schools in many other villages. Although the Order of Friars Minor is

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1. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, op.cit., Vol.2, p.777.

Australian, it is sometimes staffed by non-Australians, especially Italians. The priests at the Yili station have often been Italian.

In Puang the majority of children, and some adults below the age of thirty, are baptized and have Christian names in addition to their local names. There are also two Catholic schools in Puang, at the Nikis and Nipin hamlets, for both boys and girls. The teachers are mission-trained and from the village itself. At least at the present time the schools are not held regularly. Nor is the attendance sufficiently high. As mentioned earlier, some children attend the government primary school at Bairap, where the medium of instruction is, unlike Mission schools, English. For practical as well as cargoist reasons,[1] the Puang think that English is more useful than pidgin English.

The second Mission in the Lumi Sub-District is CMML, Christian Mission in Many Lands (Brethren).[2] It established its first station, in the Somoro Census-Division at Eritei in 1951, and its main station, in the Au East Census-Division at Anguganak in 1958.

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1. The relation between the cargo cult and the English language will be seen later.
2. There was another Mission in the Sub-District, called Sola Fide Mission. It opened one station in South West Wapei Census-Division, at Kamnum (1956), and one station in the Au West, at Witeili (1959). But it ceased its operations in 1961.

It has also stations located at Yebil (1952), Inabo (1952 but not staffed by a missionary until 1965), and Lumi (1956).

As in the case of the Catholic Mission, the relationship between this Protestant Mission and the local people has, as well as a religious-educational aspect, also an economic and medical one. The Anguganak station has a pidgin English school, a trade-store, and a good hospital where some medical aid-post orderlies have also been trained. In 1971 the health personnel employed by both Missions in the Sub-District were as follows:

CMML	2 Medical Officers
CMML and Order of Friars Minor	8 Maternal and Child Health Sisters

Unlike some Au villages, Puang has no religious-educational contact with the CMML station at Anguganak. But the village people, like many other local people, sometimes go to the station to buy things from its large trade-store, or to sell their foodstuffs to the Mission to be used, for instance, for the in-patients of the Mission hospital. The Puang are aware of some of the obvious differences between the Catholic and the Protestant Missions working in the area: the former strongly forbids polygyny whereas the latter has the

same attitude towards smoking and taking alcoholic drinks and puts the whole body under water at baptism.

Compared with some other parts of Papua New Guinea, such as the southern Mading district studied by Professor P. Lawrence, the history of missionary contact with the Au area is short and the influence of Christian theology on the area is relatively limited. In Puang the male adults have mainly some limited idea of God, of Christ having sacrificed his life,[1] of life after death especially hell, and of the distinction between the body and the soul, a distinction which, like the idea of life after death, has a local near-equivalent. The Puang were not much influenced by these ideas, as will be seen, at least up to 1957. In their 1957 cargo movement, the cargo leaders did not claim to be Catholic or to be in contact with God. Nor did they make sufficient attempt to elevate one of their spirits to the position of a Supreme Being.

It should also be noted that the ideas in question need not have been learnt from the Missions in the area. Since the Second World War, if not earlier, these ideas have been almost common knowledge among indentured labourers in most plantations. The Puang's first

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1. The expression regarding Christ is intended to be close to the Puang's idea of him.

acquaintance not only with Christianity but also, as will be seen, with cargo cults and beliefs seems to have been made through going to, and working on, plantations. The famous cargo leader of Dadang, Yali, studied by P. Lawrence is, for example, known in Puang.

The Puang's image of Franciscan and CMML missionaries is better than that of other Europeans. Missionaries live very close to the local people, have a personal relationship with them, and share their personal life and facilities more than other Europeans. The missionaries' commitment to moral and ascetic principles, in affecting their daily behaviour, does not fully fail to make a positive impression on the people in the area. At the personal level, missionaries are most often liked - a fact which shows the humane aspect of missionaries as well as that of the local people - though this is sometimes counter-acted by the antagonistic and cargoist attitude towards all red-skinned men in general.

The amicable aspect of the relationship between the Missions and the local people partly derives from the fact that the Missions came to the Lumi Sub-District after the Second World War, when European Missions in Papua New Guinea tended to show more respect for local traditions than they did in earlier times.

At the beginning, the two Missions strictly forbade certain local tradition, especially a large variety of collective and festive rituals, namely, Singing Rituals (P.E. singsing; A. hanya), which are widespread in the whole Sub-District. As it itself acknowledges,[1] the CMML Mission was more strict in this regard than the other Mission. If one of its converts took part in a Singing Ritual he had to repent before being allowed to go to the Lord's Supper again. But, in the course of time, the two Missions have become increasingly more tolerant regarding Singing Rituals and local traditions in general. Since 1970 the CMML has not disciplined the local Christians who participate in the Rituals.[2]

Moreover, the Missions' opposition to some traditional beliefs and rituals is, indeed, in accord with the local people's own attitude in this regard at the present time. For example, morally speaking, the Puang as much disapprove of destructive magic at present as the missionaries. In the 1957 cargo cult movement, widespread in many Au and non-Au villages, for the first time many people willingly confessed their destructive magical acts, both intra- and inter-village ones, and paid compensation to the victims'

1. D.E. McGregor, 1975, op.cit., pp.80-84.
2. Ibid., p.84 Sqq.

living relatives. In the Puang's view, the fact that destructive magic is still prevalent in the area is a basic reason why the local people, unlike Europeans and other red-skinned people, cannot get their share of cargo from the ancestors. Sometimes the Puang did criticize the Missions on cargoist or non-cargoist grounds, e.g. "The price of goods at the missionary trade-stores is too high" or "The Missions are interested in the welfare of our souls after death and not that of our bodies at present". But I never saw them raising any objections to the Missions' opposition to destructive magic.

There is a great deal to be said regarding the relation between missionaries and the Puang. This is a significant subject because, on the one hand there is much misunderstanding about it and, on the other, it can throw special light on the Puang's mode of thinking. This subject has, however, to be considered later in its appropriate contexts, such as religious and cargoist beliefs. It may suffice here to make some brief comments on two of the prevailing misunderstandings.

The following assumptions are popular with some expatriates regarding the local people in the Lumi Sub-District, and probably in many other parts of Papua New

Guinea, and have been supported in some of the classical studies of the cargo cult.[1] Here it will be argued that the assumptions are not applicable to Puang. But, as will be seen later, there seems to be no evidence to show that they are applicable to many other parts of the country except that, perhaps, the places in which European contact and education have been greatly influential.

(i) It is assumed that the local people become confused and bewildered, or are filled with uncertainty, to note that, on the one hand, they are taught Christian theology by missionaries, and on the other, they sometimes hear atheistic statements made by other Europeans. This is definitely not true of the Puang. The Puang world-view is strongly centred on the idea of souls and spirits. For the Puang, an atheistic statement does not, and can not, make sense and is, at best, taken as a lie or as a personal attack on missionaries.- As was mentioned earlier, even an agnostic view concerning life after death, once expressed by the present writer, was taken as a lie. The so-called lying of non-missionary Europeans does not make the Puang bewildered either. From a cargoist point of view all red-skinned

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1. P. Worsley, 1970, op.cit., pp.53-54; K. Burridge, Mambu: A Melanesian Millennium, Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 1964, pp.34-37.

people, whether European or not, are supposedly in the habit of lying about the most important issues, that is, issues relating to cargo. The Puang are not interested in the question of whether God exists or not. This is not, in fact, a question for them. They accept, and take for granted, the existence and power of God, as they do the existence and power of their own spirits. As far as the Puang are concerned, the basic question is the relation between cargo and God, or rather spirits in general. And in this regard the atheist does not, by any means, contradict the missionary, and consequently cannot cause any serious confusion or uncertainty. He is, like the missionary, supposedly hiding the truth, although in a slightly different, and rather clumsy, way. I said clumsy because, unlike the missionary, he hides the relation between God and cargo with resort to, in the Puang's view, a most meaningless and fictitious idea, namely, atheism.

The fact that non-missionary Europeans do not usually attend church services does not make the Puang puzzled either. Nor is it taken as an index of atheism or agnosticism or even hostility towards missionaries. Indeed the Puang would have grown puzzled if such Europeans did go to church, because according to the Puang cargoist beliefs no European needs to attend

church services. Every European knows the secret of cargo and money. He is not only well-informed about God and the ancestors, but also able, thanks to his 'clear' eyes, to see them in the dark at night. Church services are only useful for the local people, who have no knowledge of God and the above secret, and whose eyes are not clear.

(ii) It is assumed that the local people are filled with bewilderment or uncertainty to note that Missions, on the one hand, represent the same religion, and on the other, advocate a variety of rituals and beliefs. This is, again, definitely not true of the Puang, and to assume otherwise is to deprive them of a minimum degree of common sense and practical intelligence, which they have as much as any other people. The Puang are not so naive to think that because Europeans are of the same skin colour and, broadly speaking, have the same culture, their religious doctrines should be exactly identical in every respect. Note that it is not only in the field of religion that Europeans are not totally identical but also in politics, language, and so forth. Why should the Puang grow puzzled by European differences in religion but not by the fact that Australian administration and working conditions on plantations are different from German

ones, or by the fact that some Europeans speak German, some English, and some (of Italian origin) often cannot speak either German or English? Moreover, the Puang are, of course, aware that although the local people are of the same skin colour and, broadly speaking, have the same culture, there are, like Europeans, differences among them religiously, linguistically, and so forth. When the Puang spoke of the differences in ritual and belief among Au villages which have the same religion, they did not expect me to grow bewildered, and did not feel that they were describing an extraordinary and surprising phenomenon requiring special explanation. It was with the same attitude that they spoke to me of the doctrinal differences, as far as they understood, between the Franciscan and CMML Missions. They did not, in fact, ever inquire from me why these doctrinal differences exist, despite the fact that I was, sometimes, bombarded by both practical and theoretical questions concerning the Missions. My own inquiries show that the Puang conceive the two Missions to be like two rather unrelated and distant villages and feel, consequently, that it is only natural that the Missions differ religiously and otherwise.

5. THE IMPACT OF EUROPEAN CONTACT

In this section it is not intended to summarize what has so far been said about European contact. Nor is it intended to discuss the impact of this contact in detail. Such details will be provided, as far as necessary, in the course of the description of Puang social organization and beliefs. This section is only concerned with some general and brief remarks on the impact in question, and is hoped to make the specific effects of European contact, especially in the case of the cargo cult, better founded and more understandable.

European contact has no doubt produced a large number of results, such as the total replacement of stone adzes by steel ones, indentured labour, cash cropping, the cessation of inter-village warfare, the appointment of village representatives, the introduction of the Christian idea of God and Christ, some degree of school education and health service, and so forth. But as far as the policito-economic structure is concerned, the contact has not yet produced radical changes in Puang. The replacement of stone adzes by steel ones has resulted, for the Puang, in doing the same traditional work, such as clearing gardens, with more speed and efficiency and consequently having more leisure time. Cash cropping, reluctantly and occasionally done, is very much a sideline and at best enables the Puang, as they put it, to

pay annual taxes and to buy some more consumer goods from missionary trade-stores. On plantations, an indentured labourer does not usually learn any new and useful skill and is employed for unskilled labour, such as that necessary for cutting copra. And soon after returning to the village, he spends his earnings for traditional purposes, like marriage payments and the fulfilment of his kinship obligations especially to his mother's brother.

As will be shown at some length, having had a stateless society in the past, the Puang have still very little idea of centralized government and political representation. Nor do they believe in the usefulness or necessity of such institutions. They tend to think, for example, that, like them, Europeans do not have any form of centralized government in their countries (or villages).

As a political change, the cessation of inter-village warfare is of special significance. It should, however, be noted in this regard that, firstly, warfare was not as important to Puang society in the past as present appearances indicate. Secondly, warfare was, practically, in two forms, one by bows and arrows and the other by destructive magic. And the second form was more important in the sense that the number of deaths attributed to magic were, by far, more than those

occurring in actual wars. Thirdly, magical practice and accusations still persist, and according to some informants (with whom I do not agree) have even increased in the post-contact period.

Contact with Europeans and their culture has not yet radically changed the Puang world-view either, as the people's general outlook is still deeply 'animistic' or religious. Cargoist beliefs, as a post-contact phenomenon, are centred on the idea that manufactured goods are not man-made but spirit-made. A non-animistic philosophy is not felt to make any sense or to be, by any possibility, an alternative mode of thinking. It may be asked why destructive magic, which is now so genuinely disapproved, is still prevalent. The prevalence of magic is, among other things, due to the prevalence of animistic outlook. It has not yet occurred to the Puang, who have so far had very little secular education, that untimely deaths may be caused merely by medical, impersonal, and accidental factors. As a result, they are bound to resort to magical explanation, that is, the final cause of such a death being the harm done to a person's soul by magic. They would probably be content with mere magical accusations if the number of untimely deaths was somewhat negligible. But these deaths are so numerous, due to malnutrition and lack of hygiene, and happen to a person's close relatives so

frequently, that, as in the past, the Puang are led to practise magic in order to seek vengeance. In Puang, magic is, owing to the inevitability of animistic mode of thought, more a cause of social tension than a result and an expression of this tension.

European contact has, however, produced a most important radical change, that is, the need for radical change. This is not a need for change in one or more fields, like economic or political structure, but, to borrow Marcel Mauss' terminology, a need for 'total' change; a change which has many aspects, namely, economic, political, magico-religious, moral, and even cosmic and physical. To explain the need for total change briefly.

The total change has economic and political aspects, as the Puang wish to have the European economic standard and to be, politically speaking, on equal terms with Europeans. Note that although Puang society is, technologically, more backward than a peasant society, a Puang, unlike a peasant, has not had any experience of being in an economically or politically inferior position, either within his society or in relation to outsiders. Traditional warfare did not aim at subjugation. As a result, the Puang easily reject, and can not justify or explain, the social stratification and inequality existing in a society with centralized government.

The total change has a magico-religious aspect. The Puang wish to dispense with their destructive magic. In their 1957 cargo cult movement, they not only confessed their magical acts (intra- as well as inter-village ones) and paid compensation for the first time, but also burnt a large number of their bows and arrows, spears, and shields. The Puang also wish to get rid of many of their spirits. In 1957 the Puang's cargo cult leader (Wayowi), being a medical orderly, poured modern poison on the sites in which certain spirits were believed to be residing, and in doing so he had everybody's support, including that of elderly men, that is, the most traditionally-minded people in the village. The leader poured such poison, for instance, at the bottom of a number of coconut trees, which are associated with the coconut-spirit (A. wâsiuk).

At the present time, the Puang tend to stress the harmful aspects of their spirits, sometimes at the cost of misrepresenting their traditional beliefs. For example, the spontaneous and frequent comment made on spirits, such as Meni, Wânkâla, and Nan, which are associated with Singing Rituals, is that these spirits are very bad, causing many illnesses. This is despite the fact that, according to the Puang's own beliefs, firstly, although these spirits cause many illnesses, the illnesses are most often cured, and can only be cured,

by them. Secondly, these spirits do not cause illness in a person without a good reason, that is, without his breaking taboos on sex, food, and so forth. The missionaries working in the area are indeed right when they state that their opposition to local spirits is often in accord with the views expressed by the local people themselves.

The Puang also desire to become Catholic, although they understand Catholicism, as almost any other post-contact phenomenon, in terms of cargoist ideology. When they are asked, that if that is really their desire, why they do not all go to be baptized by the priest, they say: "The priest's baptism is not a 'true' one. If it were it would make one's eyes 'clear' to see God and the ancestors and to find the ways in which they may be communicated with." The Puang believe that after death everyone will be truly baptized and will become Catholic.

The total change in question has a moral aspect. The Puang wish the existing politico-economic inequality between Europeans and New Guineans to be eliminated not only on utilitarian but also moral grounds. As was just said, they honestly can not, morally speaking, justify this type of inequality to themselves.

Dr. Burridge's view that cargo cults are concerned with 'moral regeneration' is applicable to Puang. In

Puang, the people frequently say that unless they live a 'good' life they will not achieve equality with Europeans. They say so especially in situations in which there is a case of untimely death supposedly caused by magic, or of an illegitimate sexual relation, or of a quarrel. In such situations, the Puang blame their failure to get their share of cargo on these immoral acts, and do not lose the opportunity to point out that it is because of avoiding wrongdoing of this kind that Europeans are so prosperous.

The Puang look back to the year 1957, when they had a cargo cult movement, as, morally speaking, a golden age. They say that, at that time, there was hardly any magical killing, any illegitimate sexual relation, or any quarrel, and that was a basic reason why they began to contact the ancestors successfully and could soon have been prosperous. There is, most likely, some truth in what is said of that period. Their cargo cult leader, being a trained medical orderly, probably saved the people from certain untimely deaths. He was greatly interested in hygiene, and made cleanliness a pre-requisite of the arrival of cargo sent by the ancestors. For example, as essential cargoist ritual, he expected the people to bathe every day, to clean and

change their clothes[1] frequently, to throw rubbish away from houses and hamlets, and to use newly-built latrines. He also laid down a large number of new food taboos, such as forbidding the Puang to eat the meat of the dog.[2] Moreover, in that period, nearly all men and women in the village were involved in cargoist activities, such as long nightly meetings, were preoccupied by cargoist ideas and ideals, and had a strong sense of solidarity. And the same held true of many neighbouring villages which participated in the movement. As a result, the Puang and their neighbours had, definitely, less time and interest to indulge in love-affairs, petty quarrels, and magical accusations. If there were some inexplicable deaths they were, perhaps, attributed to spirits rather than magic. Traditionally, death is believed to be caused by spirits sometimes, although by far less often than being caused by magic.

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1. In Puang, before 1957, waist-cloths (P.E. laplap), instead of traditional fibre-skirts (P.E. purpur; A. nitan), were worn only by a small number of women. But since 1957 this became a common practice among women. Men, most of whom had been on the plantations for two decades or so by 1957, had started wearing waist-cloths, instead of traditional penis-sheaths (see Plate 8), much earlier.
2. Traditionally the Puang may eat dogs; though one should emphasize that, firstly, the Puang do not seem to have resorted to this type of meat very often, and secondly, a person is forbidden to eat the meat of his own dog.

The total change in question has a cosmic aspect. The Puang believe that the arrival of the local people's share of cargo will be accompanied by a heavy rain, a strong wind, an outburst of thunder, a severe earthquake, and probably the appearance of a new moon and a new sun. In other words, the social radical change wished for by the local people will be accompanied by a cosmic radical change. Between 1969 and 1971 a famous cargo cult developed in Yangoru,[1] East Sepik District, gradually spreading to part of the Lumi Sub-District; and its news was taken seriously in Puang. On Wednesday 7th July 1971, the supposed date of the arrival of cargo, and a few days before and after it, the Puang waited - without doing any work - not only for their own cargo but also for a violent storm and earthquake. Fearing the expected earthquake, a number of people moved from the Puang hamlet to Nikis temporarily, as they hoped that the earthquake might be less violent in Nikis than in their own hamlet. This hope was based on the fact that in the actual earthquake of 1935, mentioned earlier, the Nikis hamlet had been less damaged than the Puang hamlet. It is said that on 7th July 1971 missionaries and Australian officers left the area for the coast, as they were also frightened of the expected earthquake.

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1. L. Hwekmarin, et.al., The Yangoru Cargo Cult, 1971, A Typescript Report, University of Papua and New Guinea, 1971.

The above expected cosmic change is believed to be, however, a transient one, associated only with the initial stage of the cargoist millennium. There are also certain beliefs assuming that the arrival of cargo will be accompanied by a permanent cosmic change. There is, first of all, an ingenious idea, developed by a cargoist expert in the Witikin village and accepted by some people in Puang and neighbouring villages. According to this idea, the sky will soon approach the ground so closely that parcels of cargo will fall down, without being damaged, for everybody; and that is how cargo will be received from then onwards.

There is also the belief that the sea will move towards land, pass over the Torricelli Mountains, which form the major barrier between the Lumi Sub-District and the coast, and permanently cover everywhere, in such a way that only villages located on high ridges will be above the water. There are two reasons why the Puang have come to hold this belief. The first is that, on the plantations (which are all on the coast) the Puang have seen that goods are sent to Europeans by ship,[1] and have come to the conclusion that they will not receive any goods unless the sea is close to them. The second

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1. Hence the word 'cargo' having such a wide and significant meaning for the Puang.

is that there is an Au myth explaining that in the past the sea was in the Au area, in an underground pool near the Tumentonik village, and later was moved away to its present position by a land-spirit in the form of an owl (A. kuku). This myth is taken as the evidence that the sea may change its place and may move back to its original place in the forest.

It should, however, be added that the above cargoist belief regarding the sea has weakened since the 1950s. As we have seen before, since 1947 Christian Missions and the Australian administration have opened a number of stations in the Lumi Sub-District and the Au area, where planes land bringing goods for Europeans. Thus the Puang have observed increasingly that goods may be brought to their area by plane instead of ship. In their 1957 cargo cult, the Puang still felt that, for the arrival of their cargo, the sea might possibly move back to the Au area, but in practice they built a small air-strip near the Puang hamlet for the ancestral planes to land.

So far we have briefly discussed several aspects of the Puang's need for total change. The last aspect to be considered is the physical one.

The Puang wish to change the social system as well as themselves. They wish to become new men not only morally and educationally but also physically. In Puang, where traditional ideas on life after death are, as will

be seen, very meagre, the following belief has developed in the post-contact period.

After death, every black-skinned person, man or woman, goes into the ground head first, in the same manner that a baby is born. In the underground, his head is then cut off, and his blood is poured in a wash-basin and covered by a cloth.[1] This blood develops into a person, the same person, like the blood in the womb growing into a baby; and he gasps suddenly, regains consciousness, and feels that he has been sleeping for too long.[2] He has changed now. He speaks English, his skin-colour is red, and his eyes are, spiritually, 'clear' and can see the ancestors.

The Puang often dream of the realization of the above beliefs and regard their dreams as an evidence for the validity of the belief because, for them, dreams are unquestionably truthful. In September 1973, two nights after his wife's death, a man had a dream which he described as follows:

> I went underground, below the Nikis hamlet, by a ladder. I saw my wife, mother, and father. My father was not with his second wife, but his first wife, that is, my mother. We went inside a room. The

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1. According to a minor version, the head is not cut off, and the blood is from the heart. According to another version, as seen in the following description of a dream, before beheading the body is hanged head down, in the same way that Japanese hanged their prisoners in the Second World War.
2. The idea that, after revival, the person gasps suddenly while regaining consciousness, and that he feels that he has been sleeping for too long is traditional.

Europeans' boss No.1, God, hanged my wife head down, and cut her head off.[1] My mother took the head and placed it close to herself. Then the boss No.1 covered the wash-basin containing my wife's blood. The blood soon developed into a woman, my own wife, but she was different now. She was like a European lady in skin-colour and clothing. She was wearing beautiful shoes and stockings. Then we all went out of the room. There was an exquisite village with exquisite domestic and men's ceremonial houses, and food [cargo].[2] The village was decorated with the victory leaf shining like fire. My wife, mother and father were very happy, and had their own exquisite food, clothes, and houses. My wife said: "When you come here, we will live together as husband and wife again." I wanted to go farther but was not allowed to: I was not dead yet. Thus I left them, climbed the ladder, and returned to the ground. The underground village was not distant, it was under our own hamlet, Nikis. The things I have described I saw with my own eyes. Yes, I also saw Europeans there living with black-skinned people.

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1. Some informants say, as in the above dream, that the beheading is done by God. Others say that it is done by the person's mother's brother. Still others say, with a cargoist overtone, "We do not know. You know; why don't you tell us?" The beheading is believed to take place on the third day after death. As we have seen in several instances in the present thesis, three is traditionally the most important number for the Puang. The number of secondary importance is five.
2. The local term used for cargo is the word for good food (A. nenpan yaaim). Yaaim means good as well as beautiful.

In the Puang's minds, the connection between the above physical change and life after death is not absolute or necessary. In situations highly charged with cargoist emotions and ideas, the Puang tend to think that the change will happen in this life. As was stated above, between 1969 and 1971 there was a famous cargo cult in Yangoru, East Sepik District, the news of which was taken seriously in Puang. In the last few months of the cult until it reached its climax on 7th July 1971, when ancestral cargo was expected to arrive, the Puang came to believe that the physical tranformation of black-skinned people would soon happen in this life. They thought that one night they would die in their sleep and revive in the morning. After the revival, they would have red skin, and would be able to speak English, to read their names on the packages of cargo, and to write orders for new supplies of cargo. This belief had, however, faded away by September 1971, when I arrived in the field.

Note that, as the above account shows, the idea of rebirth, revival, and the like, so often used by anthropologists in analysing cargo cults, fully and literally corresponds to the Puang's own thoughts. Likewise, as far as Dr. Burridge's concept of 'new man' is concerned, the case of Puang society provides us with one of those happy occasions on which the observer's theoretical construction is almost exactly the same as the actor's

conscious reasoning and beliefs. As we have seen, the Puang clearly wish to become new men, even physically. The Puang's idea of their cargo cult leader, Wayowi, is, if put in a nutshell, the image of new man as conceived by them. As will be shown in detail, it is said that Wayowi was red-skinned and tall, could read and write English, paid attention to cleanliness and hygiene, disapproved of destructive magic and other immoral acts, tried to discard harmful spirits, and was in a position to be treated on equal terms by Europeans.

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CHAPTER NINE

A NOTE ON CARGO CULT AND ELECTIONS

In Puang the 1972 elections did not appear, on the surface, to have anything to do with cargoist beliefs. A few months before the elections, the people began to look forward to them; although the previous elections had proved to be fruitless from a cargoist standpoint, that is, had not resulted in the arrival of much 'cargo' (European type goods) and money. During the election, almost all the eligible men and women took part in the polling and voted for Yakob Talis, who strongly rejects the cargo cult and who had been elected in the previous election. Moreover, there is no one in the village who is a member of the Peli Association of the Yangoru cargo cult, or who actively supports this cult in other ways.[1]

But appearances were misleading. As the following account attempts to show, the election was basically understood and evaluated in terms of cargoist beliefs.

In Puang there is a deep-rooted and prevalent belief in the Cargoist philosophy, and there is, consciously or unconsciously, almost an ever-present hope and anxiety for the arrival of the people's share of cargo and money. A major theme of this philosophy is that the ancestors of

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1. This cult's influence, in the sense of having active followers, has gone beyond Nuku, and reached a few villages in the Au East Census-Division. But it has not spread as far as the Au West Census-Division. See Map 9.

both Europeans and New Guineans make and send cargo to their own descendents. But Europeans 'steal' the New Guinean share of cargo, obliterate the local names from the parcels of cargo, and put their own names on the parcels. Cargo is made in Sydney,[2] which is located where the sun sets, not far from a New Guinea town, namely, Vanimo. Another major theme is that a fundamental reason why Europeans have so much wealth is that they beheaded a European whose blood has cleansed cargo, and whose portrait is on monetary units, coins and notes. Thus one of the means by which New Guineans can obtain their portion of wealth is to have a local man beheaded.

In 1957, a cargo cult movement began in Puang and two neighbouring villages, Tumentonik and Yemnu, and rapidly spread to many other villages. The Administration came to know of it in its early stages and imprisoned the cult leaders. The Puang firmly believe that if the Administration had not stopped the cult they would have obtained good foods, good clothes, and good homes with the help of their ancestors; and that they would be living with Europeans on equal terms by now. They say that their ancestors had already started sending them some

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1. The Puang pronounce Sydney as 'Siinii'.

money and some letters. The leader of the movement was a young medical assistant (aid-post orderly) from Puang, called Wayowi, who committed suicide in 1962. He corresponded to the Puang's image of what Burridge calls the 'new-man'.[1] In the village he is liked and talked of more than any other cargo cult leader.

The Puang were not satisfied with any of the elections. In the first two elections, Makain Mo (1964) and Yakob Talis (1968) were elected in the belief that they would go to Australia to be beheaded for the above-mentioned cargoist purpose. Both representatives were considered to have failed in their missions. It was said that the former did not go further than Lae, and the latter went to Australia, grew frightened, and fled.[2]

The Puang's interest in the recent election, before it began, was because of the fact that once more they hoped, although half-heartedly, that Makain Mo would be sacrificed. But this time the belief was that he would be locked in a box and sent to Australia. The Puang lost this hope soon after the election started, and then began to express their dissatisfaction with the election openly and frequently.

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1. K. Burridge, 1960, op.cit.
2. Talis has actually been to Australia, and often refers to this fact in his speeches.

A main reason why almost all the eligible persons took part in the polling was that they thought they were ordered to do so by the Administration. In some cases there was a groundless fear of being imprisoned. Since I had told them that I should like to write about their ideas and grievances concerning the election, some voters came to me and said:

> "Write down that we do not like the election at all. We vote only because we shall be jailed if we do not do so."

There was, also, the attitude that:

> "Once more we participate in elections. But we will not do so any more if this election turns out to be the same as the previous ones."[1]

Some of the basic grounds on which Talis was elected are as follows:

(a) The Puang had no choice, that is, they had no one who was believed to be able to realize their cargoist expectations. I asked them if there was anyone among the candidates or others, within or outside the village, whom they wished to be their representative. The answer was negative. The advent of a cargoist leader is becoming difficult nowadays. To begin with, he should, ideally, know English, as he has to use this language in contacting local ancestors on matters regarding cargo and money. It is believed that, after death, New Guineans change their

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1. In the Open Electorate as a whole, voter turn-out was lower than in Puang: 43 per cent of those registered went to the polls.

skin into European skin, wear European clothes, and speak and write English.[1]

I tried to press the Puang further to see if there reaaly was nobody in whom they had an interest as a potential representative. They said:

> "There is someone, called Wenke, whom we should like to vote for. But he left for Aitape a few years ago, and is unlikely to return to us in the near future."

This answer was one of the signs indicating that, for them, a cargoist representative was the ideal one.

Wenke is a young school-teacher, and has been in Aitape for the last three years. He comes from Yemnu village, and used to teach in the Catholic mission school in this village before going to Aitape. He knows English, and has taken part in cargoist activities in the past.

The following story is told about him and believed in may villages. Once when the Catholic mission plane landed at Yemnu bringing some goods for the priest, Wenke noticed his name on one of the parcels, although the name was partly erased. He pointed out this fact to the priest and said that the parcel was his, and that his ancestors had sent it to him. The priest grew exasperated at Wenke's remark, and told him that he was wrong and foolish. Then they both tried to seize the parcel and came to blows

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1. The Puang call English swit tok (P.E.), meaning 'sweet language'.

over it. After this fight, the priest did not allow Wenke to remain in Yemnu any longer and sent him to Aitape.[1]

(b) Local ties played an important role. The Puang preferred Talis to other candidates because he was, unlike the others, of their own area. In their discussions with me, they explained their preference of Talis over his opponents in terms of local ties. Both Talis' village, Ningil, and Puang are located in the Au area, the former in the Au East and the latter in the Au West.

It is worthy of note that local ties constituted a voting determinant in regard to the overwhelming victory of Talis in the Open Electorate as a whole. Roughly speaking, the voting pattern and its rationale, from this point of view, were as follows: like the Puang, other Au electors voted for Talis, as he was the only candidate with whom they were locally linked. The electors of the Nuku area also voted for Talis because, on the one hand, they had no candidate of their own, and on the other, Au is closer to Nuku than Lumi is. The people of the Lumi area had their own candidates, and gave their votes to them. But they split their votes as they had as many as four candidates. So it is no wonder that Talis won

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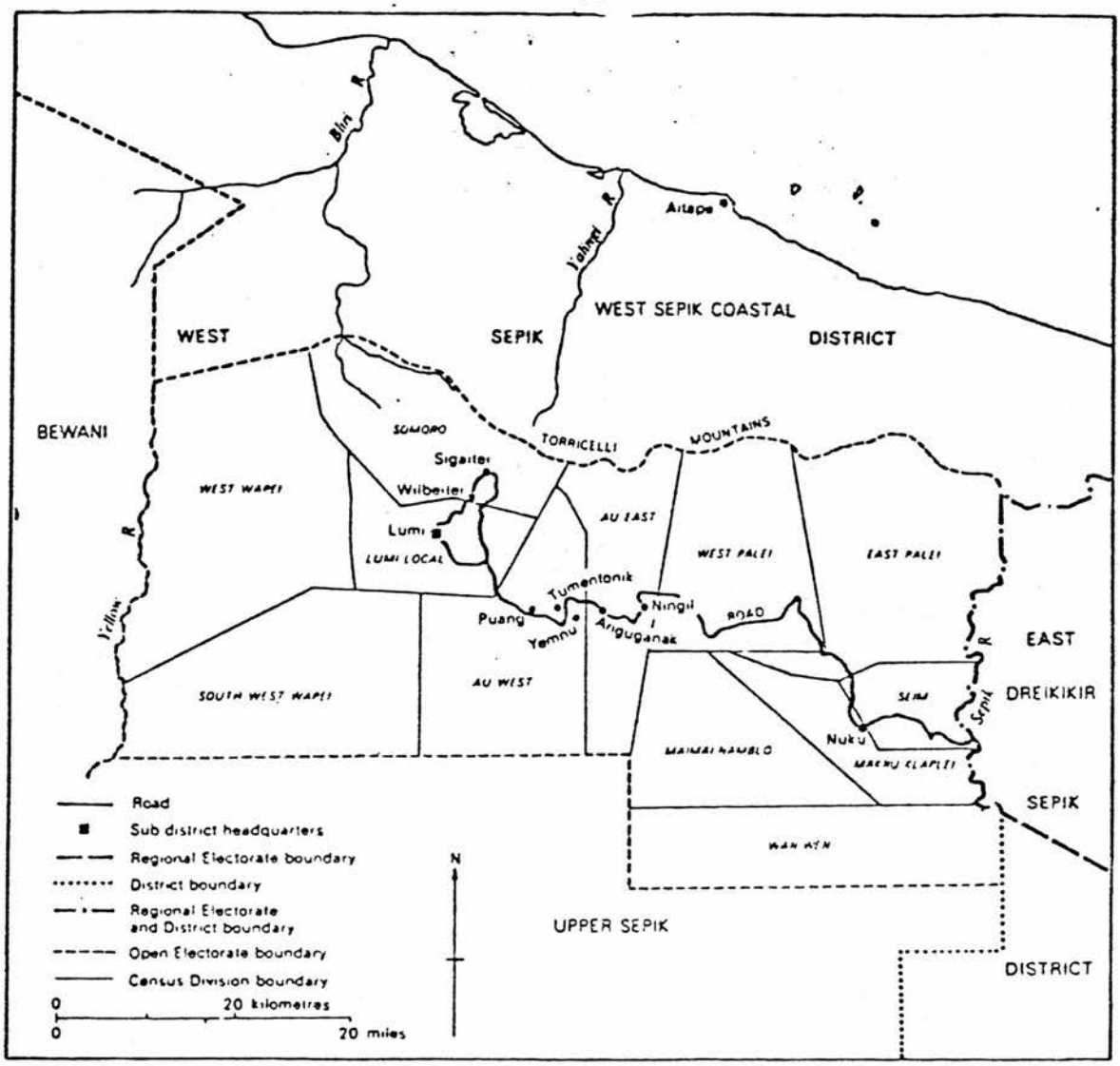
1. This is not a true story, although it is partially drawn from an actual occurrence.

TABLE 19: Voting in Wapei-Nuku Open Electorate (1972)

Candidate	Village	Party	Votes
Yakob Talis	Ningil	United Party	8,661
Simon Yanepei	Sigaiti	_	2,179
Clement Arino	Wilbaitei	Pangu Party	550
John Kouye	Wilbaitei	-	192
Makain Mo	Lumi	-	479
Informal votes	-	-	62
TOTAL			12,123

TABLE 20: Voting for West Sepik Regional Candidates in the Wapei-Nuku Open Electorate (1972)

Candidate	Votes	(Total Received)
Paul Langro	9,772	(21,288)
Daniel Jones	1,528	(10,664)
TOTALS	11,300	(31,952)



Map 9. Wapei-Nuku Open Electorate, West Sepik District, 1972

by a large majority. (See Map 9 and Tables 19 and 20).[1]

(c) It was supposed that Talis was the Administration's choice. The Puang felt that the Administration has the power, if not the right, to say whom to vote for. Furthermore, the village councillor had told them explicitly to vote for Talis, and they took his word to be the Government's. Speaking to me, the councillor strongly denied that he had, intentionally, given the impression that his personal support for Talis was endorsed by the Government. He also denied the allegation that he had said that anybody who did not participate in the polling would be jailed. But in the context of the Puang's cargoist philosophy, the councillor's and other government officers' statements often came to mean something quite different from what was intended.

Likewise, it was supposed that Paul Langro, who was elected for the Regional seat, was the Administration's choice. The councillor had given his explicit support to him too. But, in general, Langro's position was different from that of Talis in the following respects.

He was, practically, an unopposed candidate, as his opponent remained unknown in the village. The difference between Regional and Open seats, and the reason why two

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1. It would appear that, as a secondary factor, Talis' personality, especially his oratory, also contributed to his victory over his opponents.

representatives rather than one should be elected, were not known. As a result, his position appeared to the Puang rather obscure and superfluous. He was not felt to be a candidate belonging to the people. He had never come to see the Puang. Nor was he known to have ever visited any other village. He comes from Vanimo, which was thought to be very far away. As already mentioned, according to the Puang's beliefs, Vanimo is not far from the world's end, namely, where the sun sets.

Finally, Langro was never expected to carry out any cargoist mission, despite the fact that he was also, like Talis, elected in the previous election. This was perhaps because, firstly, he was too alien and remote to arouse such hopes. Secondly, although Vanimo is supposed to be near Sydney, where the ancestors make cargo, no cargoist significance seems to be attached to it. Australia is believed to have forbidden New Guineans to enter Sydney, whereas Vanimo is said to be open to everybody. The Puang knew that Vanimo is simply a town like Aitape and Wemak. They know some local men who have been to, or come from, there. There is, for example, an agricultural officer coming from this town, who has been stationed near Puang for a few years now.

I have so far attempted to show that, in the Puang's belief, elections <u>can be</u> avenues to the European type of economic prosperity if the elected candidate is beheaded.

Now I wish to make clear that the Puang also believed that elections are such avenues even without a human sacrifice.

During the election, I was told emphatically: "Write down that we have been kept completely ignorant of elections". Having heard this, I met the village councillor to see why he had not explained the election to the people, and if he was well-informed about it. He is unusual in the sense that he is 'sceptical' about cargoist beliefs. He is in his thirties, has been in the Army, travelled to Australia, and is more than others involved in cash-cropping. He had a fairly clear idea of elections, and assured me that he had tried to convey his idea to others in the village. Then I had another talk with the people and told them of my meeting with him. But they insisted that neither he nor anybody else has ever told them what elections are all about.

In the course of further discussions with-both sides, I came to realize that, in the Puang's belief, the real purpose of elections is a cargoist one; and that it is the secret of this purpose which they are kept ignorant of. I was told that what goes on in Port Moresby and in the House of Assembly is concerned, directly or indirectly, with the question of getting cargo and money from the ancestors. It was said that Talis knows the cargo secret. Some pointed out that the councillor could not

make elections clear to them, even if he wanted to, because he did not know the cargo secret either. Then, referring to their above-mentioned cargo leader, a man added: "Wayowi could, but he is dead".

At first, I could not see the cargoist aspect of the above-mentioned emphatic statement made by the Puang, because, among other things, they were indeed ignorant of elections. They had hardly any non-cargoist idea of Port Moresby and the House of Assembly. Most of them did not know where Port Moresby is located, that is, whether in Papua New Guinea or Australia. Some tended to think that it was in Australia and inhabited by Australians; perhaps because of the fact that, in their view, it is an important cargo centre. They could not describe a political party at all, and had not heard of the political parties taking part in the recent elections. Nor were they familiar, as was stated earlier, with the distinction between Regional and Open electorates.

This want of knowledge is significant because, as I came to know later, the Administration has been trying to carry out a political education programme in the Lumi Sub-District for several years. There are, no doubt, many reasons why this programme has not achieved its objectives in Puang if not in the whole Sub-District. But one of the reasons concerning us is that, from the standpoint of cargoist philosophy, non-cargoist explanations

of elections do not, and can not, make sense. This philosophy is so powerful and well-rationalized that it is capable of making an opposing theory appear not only fallacious, but also repugnant, inhuman, and deliberately deceptive.

Of course the Puang had evidence for their belief that elections are in themselves avenues to abundant wealth. A major proof was that since Talis has become an M.H.A., he has gained a large amount of money and enjoys a European style of life. He wears shoes and socks, and has a modern house in which there are chairs, a refrigerator, tinned meat, rice, and so on.

Talis' salary was not regarded, by any means, as payment for his work. Firstly, it was maintained that he had not done any work. He had failed in his cargoist mission in Australia, and had not so far divulged the cargo secret. Furthermore, in the Open Electorate, he had not yet rendered any tangible service known in the village. Secondly, it was not believed that work can make a person wealthy. On the one hand, New Guinean labourers do a great deal of work and do not receive much money. On the other, Europeans hardly perform any work at all and have as much money as they could desire. Note that by work the Puang basically mean manual labour, and the Europeans whom they come to know are mostly missionaries, government officers, and plantation managers.[1]

1. On this point see also Peter Lawrence, Road Belong Cargo, A Study of Cargo Cult in the Southern Madang District New Guinea, Manchester University Press, 1964, p.228.

Thirdly, it was argued that the village councillor has the same kind of job as Talis; that is, he is a link between the people and the Administration. But his wage is very little, namely, $2.5 per fortnight. It is true that his job is confined to a limited area, but it is harder. Talis usually travels by car and plane; whereas the councillor has to attend a meeting in the Lumi head-quarters station every fortnight, and this entails a great deal of walking (17 miles each way).

Talis was not disliked, at least not on the surface. There was a tendency to blame Europeans for his hiding the cargo secret rather than Talis himself. It is Europeans, who have ordered him to hide this matter. Nevertheless, when Makain Mo died in hospital in the Spring of 1972, the Puang said that the Lumi people killed him by pointing-magic, because he had selfishly refused to reveal the cargo secret to them. And some added: "The same will happen to Yakob Talis".

In conclusion, it could be said that if election is a 'ritual of choice' the Puang believed that the ritual is, or should be, concerned with the choice of a saviour, and not a parliamentary representative.

PART III

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE, BELIEF AND THOUGHT

CHAPTER TEN

K I N S H I P

In some respects the kinship structure of Puang society, and indeed of most New Guinea societies, is very complex or difficult to understand. Kinship in New Guinea, as against that in Africa, has been a subject of controversy for more than a decade.[1] This chapter is intended to give a brief description and analysis of kinship in Puang, and should be read with more than usual care and in its entirety.

a. Characteristics of the Clan

Puang society is divided into patrilineal and exoganous clans, and no hamlet of the village is exclusively occupied by the members (males and unmarried females) of one clan.

The clan may consist of one to six lineages. Mani Sia Hiika (clan No.8 in the table below), for

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1. See for example J.A. Barnes, 'African Models in the New Guinea Highlands', in Man, 1962, Vol.62; L. Langness, 'Some problems in the Conceptualization of Highlands Social Structure', in Readings in Australian and Pacific Anthropology, ed. by I. Hogbin and L.R. Hiatt, 1966, Melbourne University Press; H.W. Scheffler, 'Kinship, Descent, and Alliance', in Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology, ed. by J.J. Honigmann, 1973, Chicago, Rand McNally and Company.

Table 21 : NAMES, NUMERICAL STRENGTH, AND DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS IN THE HAMLETS OF PUANG

Names of Clans	No. of living Adult Males	NAMES OF HAMLETS					
		Puang[1]	Nikis	Nipin	Witmongap	Yasainak	Witwonak
1. Tanik Ninik[2]	47	+	+	+			+
2. Touninuk[3]	33	+			+	+	+
3. Meinemonak	28	+	+		+		+
4. Miripluk	18				+	+	+
5. Buluwa	16				+	+	
6. Suluk	10				+	+	
7. Taruwap	8		+	+			
8. Mani Sia Hiika	4		+				
Average	20.5						

1. 'Puang' is the name of one of the hamlets as well as the village (see pp.85-86).
2. It is also called Tebalu.
3. It is also called Neknouken.

instance, consists of one lineage and Tanik Ninik (clan No.1 in the above table) of six lineages.[1] Sometimes lineages, like clans, are named. The Tanik Ninik clan

1. It will be seen later why some clans are, by population and number of lineages, very small.

has one named lineage, and that is the lineage whose ancestors migrated to Yankok[1] some generations ago and returned to Puang afterwards. Hence the lineage is called 'Hasi Yankok'.[2] The Au term for 'lineage' is maam kiutip meaning 'one-ancestor' (maam:ancestor; kiutip:one). Haiv maam kiutip means 'We are one-ancestor', or 'We are of one lineage'. The term is, however, also one of the terms used for 'clan', and consequently denotes an agnatic group, irrespective of whether the living members of the group can trace specific genealogical connections with their common ancestor or not.

The first characteristic of the clan is that its lineages are usually of shallow depth. Lineage genealogies usually cover not more than two to five generations (of the deceased). In a small number of instances genealogies are rather long, including seven to eleven generations.

It is likely that in pre-contact times genealogies were shorter and that the longer genealogies have been made or developed in the course of post-contact changes. In the post-contact period, cargoist beliefs have made

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1. This is an Au-speaking village. For the location of this and other villages mentioned in this chapter see Maps 2 and 3.
2. 'Hasi' is, as the Puang agree, 'hasik', 'k' being elided. 'Hasik' is the name of a wild banana, mentioned in Myth No.1. Clan names will be examined later.

the Puang far more interested in their ancestors, especially in the ancestors' names. According to the Puang, one of the reasons why they cannot contact their ancestors for cargo is that they have forgotten the names of their remote ancestors. Since, in the Puang's belief, I knew, and was indeed in contact with, their ancestors, I was frequently asked by the Puang if I would disclose to them the names of the forgotten ancestors. Having provided me with a long genealogy, a cargoist leader admitted that the names of a few male ancestors in his genealogy were known only to him and that he had not learned the names from anyone else. In his view, he had not, however, fabricated his genealogy: he believed that the names had been disclosed to him by the ancestors themselves.

The second characteristic of the clan is that it often includes a significant number of non-agnates (excluding the women who are married into the clan) and especially non-relatives, who have been adopted into it. This will be examined later, after we have sufficiently learned about other aspected of kinship in Puang. Let it suffice here to say that the reason why the term 'clan' was not placed in quotation marks at first is that, as will be seen, the Puang have a special conception of kinship on the basis of which the characteristic in question is much less significant for the Puang than it is for an anthropological observer.

The third characteristic of the clan is that it has its own distinctive drumming call, that is, a distinct set of sounds produced by the striking of the slit-gong (or slit-drum), an instrument for signalling messages. In the Au language one of the terms used for 'clan' is token weiwuk miutip, meaning 'one-drumming call' (token: slit-gong; weiwuk:call; miutip:one). Haiv token weiwuk miutip means 'We are one-drumming call' or 'We are of one clan'. The term in question may, however, also be used for 'lineage'. Ideally the clan has only one drumming call; but, as will be explained later, in practice it may have more than one call, each of which being associated with a different lineage in the clan. Thus a group of people who state that they have one drumming call may be members of the same lineage rather than the same clan.

The art of making and striking a slit-gong is confined to the male members of the clan. The messages sent by means of the slit-gong are largely concerned with inter-clan and intra-clan affairs and addressed to affines and various types of kin residing in distant Puang hamlets or other villages. The drumming call of the clan has often a totemic aspect: it is often associated with a certain animal or plant. For instance, the call of the Tanik Ninik clan is associated with a type of bamboo (A. hanmik) and that of the Taruwap clan with the

coconut tree. The Meinemanak clan has more than one call, each of which belongs to a different lineage and is associated with one of the following: the wallaby (P.E. sikau; A.hiut), the friar-bird (A. belouken), a crowned pigeon (A. wunpen), and the bird called hankap (A.). This totemic aspect is, however, very little developed. The members of the clan are not, for example, forbidden to eat their animal or plant in question; nor are they expected to treat it in any special manner. There have been some myths, it is said, explaining how and why each clan and its call became associated with a certain animal or plant. But such myths are often forgotten now, and those still remembered do not affect the indifferent attitude of the members of the clan towards the animal or plant concerned.

We have so far discussed the characteristics of the clan with reference to the Puang's own terms and concepts. As we have seen, it is the Puang who regard as the clan those having a common ancestor and a common drumming call. We wish to continue the discussion in the same way. The fourth characteristic of the clan is that it has its own hunting spirit (A. witipir). The Puang's last term for 'clan' is witipir kiutip (A.), meaning 'one-hunting spirit' (kiutip:one). Haiv witipir kiutip means 'We are one-hunting spirit' or 'We are of one clan'.

FIGURE 6 : Man striking a slit-gong (A. *token*; P.E. *garamut*)

The slit-gong is made from an uncultivated tree with the same name (A. *token*; P.E. *garamut*; L. *Vitex cofassus*) and is hard, unharmed by insects, long-lasting, and bare of any design and painting. It is a hollowed log with closed ends and a longitudinal slit, and is some 75 inches long. It is sounded by one man at a time, who, while standing, strikes it with a stick some 30 inches long. It is also used, like other Puang percussive instruments, in Singing Rituals (see Plate 5).

The clan makes its own slit-gong and does so from its own trees in the forest. Thus each hamlet has usually a few slit-gongs. The slit-gongs are, however, used by clans indiscriminately; and as far as usufructuary rights are concerned they belong to the hamlet as a whole. When a new slit-gong is being made in the forest, its makers are forbidden to have sexual intercourse and women are forbidden to touch them. After a newly-made slit-gong is brought to the hamlet a Singing Ritual called *megesi* (A.) is held, in which clans entertain their affinal and matrilateral relatives from other Puang hamlets or other villages.

The messages sent by means of the slit-gong are concerned with inter-clan, intra-clan, and inter-village affairs. The slit-gong is also a means by which men may communicate with ghosts, the ancestors, and spirits. It is by striking the slit-gong that the ghost of a newly-dead person is asked to leave the hamlet; that an ancestor may be persuaded to return the soul of a person whose illness is attributed to that ancestor; and that during a continuous heavy rain the spirit concerned is told angrily to stop causing so much rain.

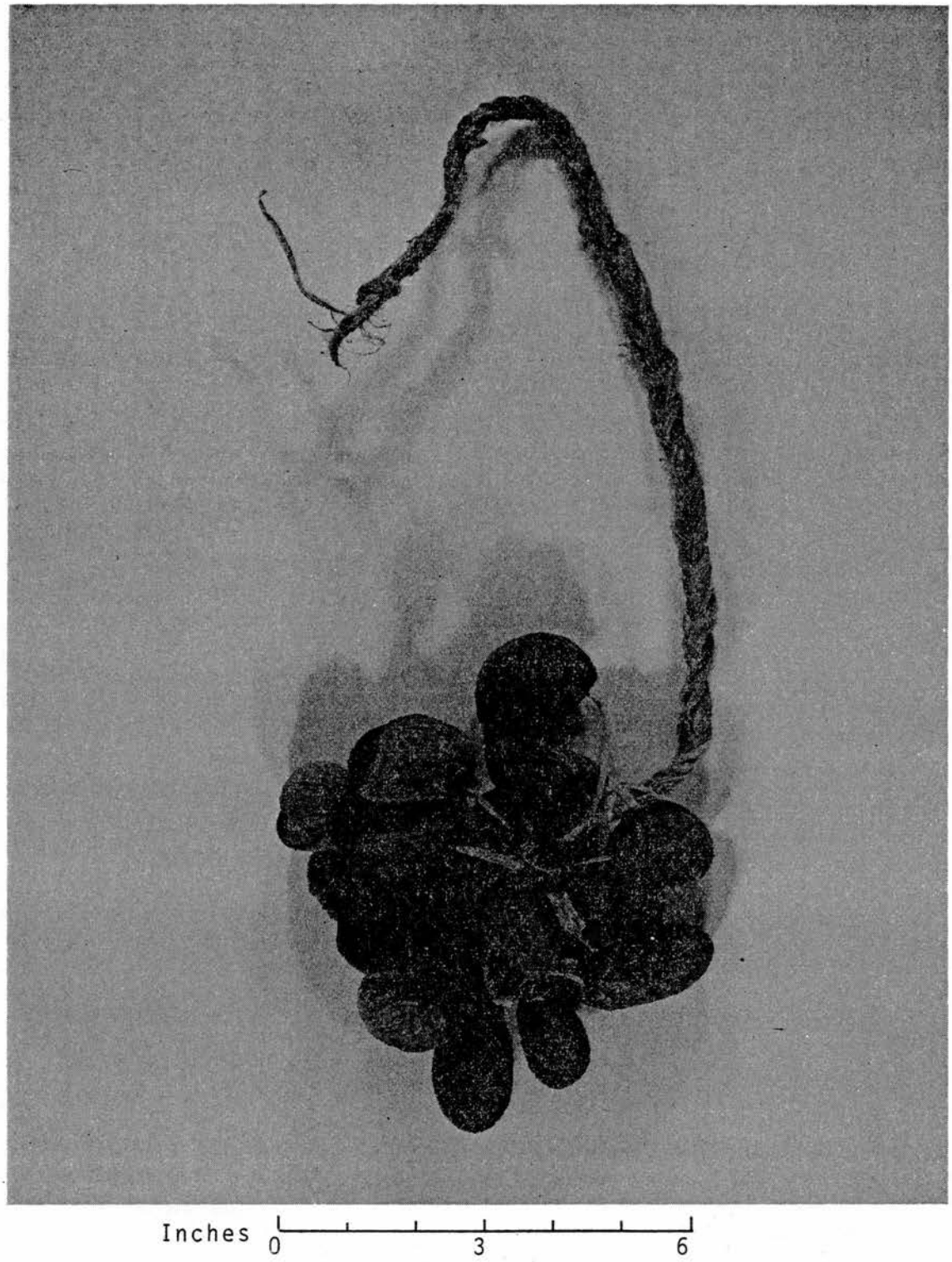

Plate 5 **A Percussive Device.** It is used like a rattle in providing rhythm for singing and dancing in some Singing Rituals (P.E. *singsing* : A. *hanya*), such as *Marara Wan* (A.) and *Meni Wan* (A.). As a percussive device, it is less important than hand-drums (P.E. *Kundu* . A. *wokenpt*) and the slit-gong (P.E. *garamut* ; A. *token*), and is usually employed with one, or both, of them in the same Singing Ritual.

Its name is *takainkan* (A.), and its cord (A. *taruwa hamin*) is made from the fibres of the bark of *Gnetum gnemon* (L. ; P.E. *tulip* ; A. *taruwa*). It consists of the empty shells of the fruit of a tree called *terkawa* (A.). The fruit is edible, and usually eaten with sago-jelly. The fruit is also used for hitting a newly-made slit-gong, so that the gong's 'soul' is removed and consequently the gong is light and sounds well. The shells of the fruit are especially light. Souls and spirits are associated with heaviness, and when they enter a person and make him ill they also make him feel heavy.

A hunting spirit is the most remote ancestor of the clan who has become a spirit after death, and its abode is usually a sacred pond in the forest. Its abode may also be a sacred site on the ground of the forest. The earth of the abode is regarded as the spirit's 'grime' (A. hapik) and a variety of wild taro often found near the abode as the spirit's 'skin' (A. iya). The wild taro is usually named after the spirit and is, like the spirit's earth, used for ritual purposes. The abode of the spirit is situated in Puang, in the forest land belonging tc the clan concerned.

The association between an agnatic group and a hunting spirit makes the former unquestionably a clan and not merely a lineage, as the Puang do not, and cannot, trace specific genealogical connections with such spirits, which are the most remote ancestors. The term witipir kiutip (E. one-hunting spirit) is therefore the major Au term for 'clan', since, unlike the other two Au terms mentioned earlier, it may not be used for 'lineage' as well as 'clan'. Hunting spirits are not, however, mentioned in genealogies: they are not merely ancestors, but ancestors who are major spirits now. And what is more, the real or secret names of these spirits are among the most exclusive possessions of clans and should not be disclosed to outsiders or non-clansmen.[1]

1. The names of hunting spirits given below, in Table 11, are not their secret names, but those names which are known to almost every adult male in Puang. Although I was generously informed of the secret names, I was asked not to mention them to others.

The clan as a hunting unit is conceived in terms of the belief in the hunting spirit. The clan is a hunting unit in the sense that, firstly, its men have collective hunting right in a piece of land and this right is, in the Puang's view, derived from the association of the clan with a hunting spirit. Secondly, when the clansmen go pig-hunting (which is the major form of hunting) collectively, in small groups, or individually, they do so, it is believed, with the exclusive and indispensable support of their hunting spirit. Pig-hunting is not believed to be successful if, for example, the hunting-spirit is not addressed (in a spell) by its secret name; if part of this spirit's wild taro is not given to the hunting dog to eat; and if this spirit's sacred abode is not kept ritually hot; that is, if approaching the abode is not avoided by men after sexual intercourse and by women in all conditions.

The clan is, in a sense, also a warring unit. A guerrilla raid is often in the interest, and under the control, of one clan, with or without the assistance of other clans. In a formal battle, in which all clans participate for the sake of the village as a whole, the interests of each clan as a separate unit are not entirely overlooked. As seen in a preceding chapter, the members of each clan are entitled to avoid aiming

their arrows at their own inter-village relatives. Now the unity of the clan in warfare is expressed by the relationship between the clan and its hunting spirit. In both guerrilla raids and formal battles the members of the clan are believed to be under the exclusive and indispensable protection of their hunting spirit and, in order to gain victory over the enemy, address this spirit (in a spell) by its secret name.

A major characteristic of the clan, namely, the clan being a land-holding unit, is also largely conceived in terms of the belief in the hunting spirit. Ownership of the clan land, by the members of the clan, is based, in the Puang's view, on the association of that land with the clan ancestors, and especially with the hunting spirit, which is the most important and powerful ancestor. For the Puang, the sacred abode of the hunting spirit, located in the clan land, is the solid evidence for the link between the clan and its land. The Puang sometimes express the ownership of land with reference to their hunting spirits rather than to themselves: 'This land belongs to Wit [a hunting spirit]'; or 'Yaro, Weimenu, and Napin [three hunting spirits] are the major owners of land in Puang'.

The clan land, in the forest, and its rivers and uncultivated plants are collectively owned by the

members of the clan, who are entitled to do hunting, gardening, fishing, and food-gathering there. Small rivers, streams, and cultivated food trees (whether planted in the forest land or the village site), such as sago, coconut, breadfruit, and galip, are owned by lineages of a clan. Within the clan, the food trees and waters of a lineage may be used by other lineages with permission or tacit agreement. Likewise, the land, trees, and waters of the clan and its lineages are sometimes used by other clans, especially affinal and matrilateral relatives, with permission or tacit agreement.

As seen in the following table, some clans do not have their own hunting spirits. This fact will be discussed later; here it may be pointed out that such clans have joined other clans. Indeed such clans had to do so, as a clan without a hunting spirit is a clan without land.

We have described a number of characteristics of the clan in some detail. There are three further characteristics in this regard which may be described briefly as follows.

The first one relates to the clan as a property-holding unit. For the Puang, property is non-material as well as material. We have already discussed the

Table 22 : THE ASSOCIATION OF CLANS WITH HUNTING SPIRITS

(Hunting Spirit: H.S.)

Names of Clans	No. of H.S.	Names of H.S.	Abodes of H.S. in Puang	Some Other Villages with which H.S. are linked
1. Tanik Ninik	1	Yaro	ground-site	Yankok; Musu
2. Touninuk	1	Witini	pond	Yili
3. Meinemonak	1	Weimenu	pond	Anguganak; Weisin
4. Miripluk	1	Ureiku	pond	Yemnu; Wititai
5. Buluwa	-	-	-	-
6. Suluk	1	Napin	pond	Witikin; Wititai
7. Taruwap	1	Wit	pond	Tumentonik; Witikin
8. Mani Sia Hiika	-	-	-	-

Notes: The links between hunting spirits and other villages are discussed below. The names of some hunting spirits are, literally speaking, meaningful. 'Witini' is a compound word and consists of wit meaning 'village-site; hamlet-site; a piece of land', and ni meaning 'garden' (see also pp.581-582). 'Napin' is the name of a red snake, into which this hunting spirit may transform itself within or outside its sacred pond. 'Wit' was defined above.

most important example of non-material property, namely, the hunting spirit, which a clan either has or gets by joining another clan. But the clan has invariably a number of other important non-material possessions. It

has always its own sago-spirit, which is believed to be crucial for the growth of sago palms, from which the Puang's staple food is made. It has most often one to several other spirits, the major ones of which are the healing spirits associated with Singing Rituals. When a spirit belongs to a clan, the ritual associated with the spirit is also owned by the clan and cannot be performed without the permission and participation of the clan. Without exception, the clan has many magical spells of its own, such as those concerned with the hunting of animals and birds and the planting of garden-crops and food trees. Within the clan, sometimes magical spells differ from lineage to lineage and are owned by lineages. Also, the clan has usually its own myths, which should be narrated only by the members of the clan. Some myths, like some spirits and magical spells, are, however, not clan-bound.

Another characteristic of the clan, or rather of some clans, is having totemic ancestors. It is, for instance, believed that the first ancestors of the Mani Sia Hiika clan were brush turkey (L. Talegallus; P.E. wel paul; A. wanp) and those of the Miripluk clan python (P.E. moran; A. mawaneken). Totemic ancestors have preceded hunting spirits: the latter are the most remote human ancestors. In practice, the clan is not

forbidden to eat its totem; nor is it expected to treat the totem in a special manner. But the Puang feel that eating one's totem ought to be taboo, as the totem is one's ancestor; and when in a cargoist mood they argue that the breach of this taboo is perhaps one of the reasons why their ancestors do not send them their share of cargo. There are also occasions on which the Puang try to defend their practice in this regard: 'We cannot avoid eating such animals; we do not have enough meat. The animals which were our ancestors are not the present ones, which are merely animals'.

The last characteristic to be mentioned is that the clan is a peace group. This fact was examined in some detail in chapter five.[1] Let it suffice here to say that intra-clan homicide, whether actual or supposed magical homicide, is very rare and often due to accidental, minor, and personal quarrels. The violation of peace within the clan is considered to be more evil than that between clans. Compensation may be accepted for inter-clan, but not intra-clan, homicide. In the case of intra-clan homicide the culprit leaves the village immediately and settles elsewhere, out of fear of retaliation and especially out of shame.

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1. See especially pp.90-97.

b. Clans and Other Villages

The characteristics of the clan in the village of Puang cannot fully be described without considering the relationships of this village with other villages in the area. All clans have kinship ties with other villages, and indeed have migrated into Puang from those villages. There is no clan claiming that it has been in Puang from time immemorial. When the members of the clan are asked about their genealogy and the history of the clan, they give an elaborate account of their clan migration and how and why their ancestors moved to Puang. Such narratives are not, of course, totally reliable in every detail, at least owing to the lapses of memory. But there is no evidence that the Puang have tried, consciously or unconsciously, to distort their history in these narratives, which are accepted by, and at least in a brief form known to, all clans. The narratives have often a mythical aspect, which, as seen below, hardly affects their factual basis. The times of clan migrations are assumed to be too recent, usually a few or several generations ago. This is, however, unreliable, as the Puang do not preserve long genealogies and their concept of the past is very limited.

In order to understand inter-village kinship ties

we need to give further consideration to the question of migration, which has also bearings on other aspects of kinship in Puang discussed in the following sections. Migration or geographical mobility is a characteristic of Au people, such as the Puang. Au people tend to move not only from one village to another, but also from one hamlet to another within the same village. Chapter five provides us with recent examples of hamlet mobility in Puang. It was only in 1962 that the Yasainak hamlet was built and occupied by the people moving out of another hamlet in the village. Witmetap was one of the hamlets of the village until 1958 or so, when its inhabitants moved to other hamlets. The people of the Nikis hamlet were living in Meici, another hamlet-site in 1935, and in Witnikis, still another hamlet site, some years earlier.

Geographical mobility is indeed a characterstic of the Lumi Sub-District in general, as shown in chapter four. In that chapter we have also shown that in the Puang's view, not contradicted by recent geographical and linguistic research, the direction of the major migration made by Au people has been northward. The Puang believe that they know the exact place from which this migration started; and that place is Magaleri (see Map 2), which is some 30 miles south of Puang, in

the Lumi Sub-District. The Puang also believe that Au people and other linguistic groups in the area have all originated from Magaleri.

Apart from the above major migration, the Puang or rather their clans have each had shorter migrations in different directions, shown in the following figure. The names of clans are often related to these migrations:

The Buluwa clan is called such because it (or its ancestors) migrated into Puang from the village of Buluwa.[1] The Touninuk clan are named so since it comes from Touninuk, which is part of the village of Yemnu.[2] One of the clans is called Tanik Ninik, as when its ancestors were migrating into Puang they were carrying net-bags which were painted red: 'tanik ninik' (A.) means 'red net-bag' (tanik:net-bag; ninik:red). The Tanik Ninik clan is also called Tebalu, which is the name of the village from which this clan migrated.[3] The name of the Taruwap clan derives from 'Witaruwap', which is the name of part of the Puang forest now. When this clan moved to Puang, from the Witweis village, it settled in Witaruwap at first.

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1. In Fig.7, 'Buluwa' is spelled 'Bulawa', following the official map of the Lumi Sub-District.
2. As seen in Fig.7, before being in Yamnu the Touninuk clan was in the village of Bogasip.
3. In Fig.7, 'Tebalu' is spelled 'Tebali', following the official map of the Lumi Sub-District.

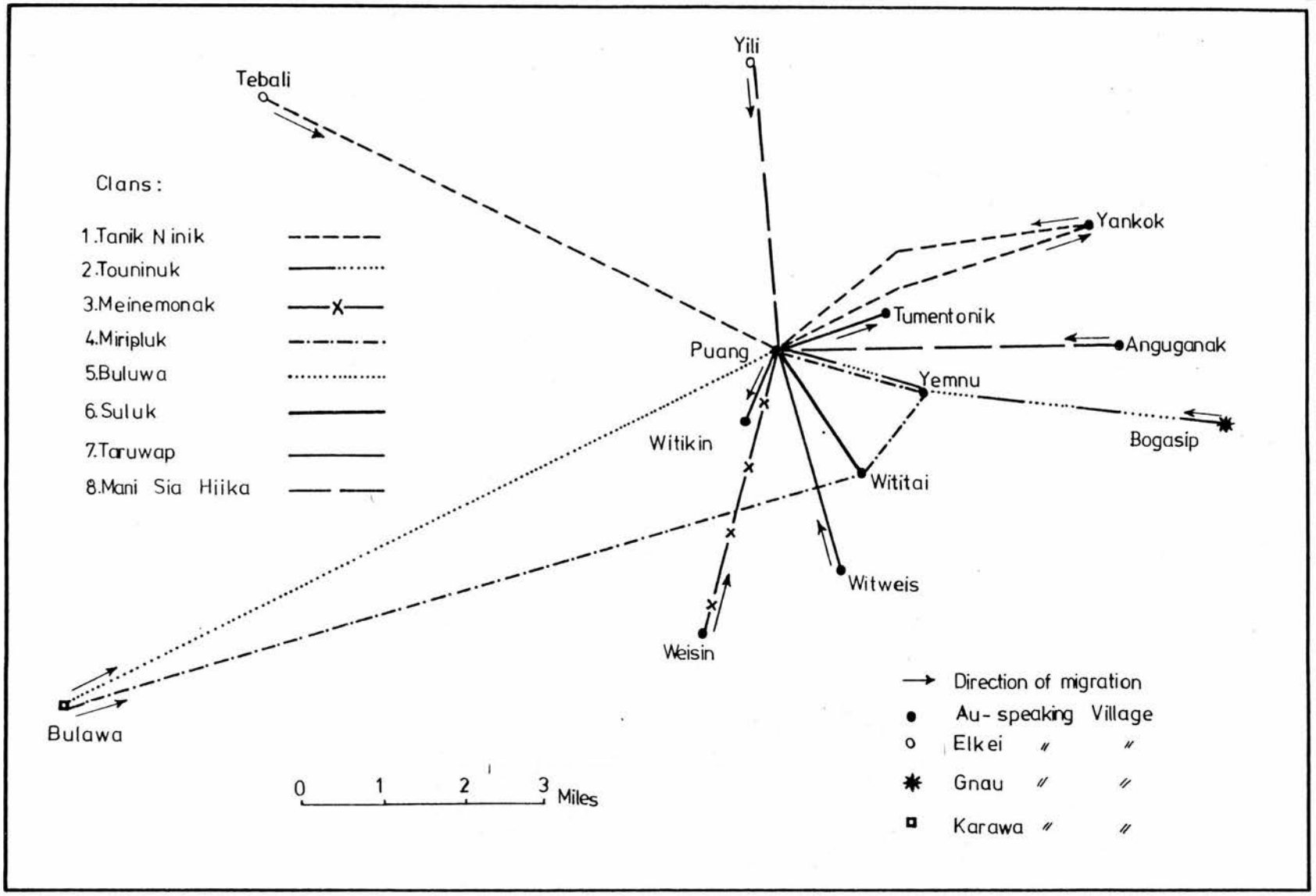

FIGURE 7 : Migration Routes of the Puang Clans

It should be made clear that with regard to migration Puang is not, as against other Au villages, in a privileged position; that is, Puang is not the village in which all migrations end, or the village into which, rather than from which, all migrations take place. Figure 7 provides us with two examples of migration out of Puang: from Puang the Taruwap clan (two of its lineages) has moved to the villages of Tumentonik and Witikin, and the Tanik Ninik clan (one of its lineages, called Hasi Yankok and mentioned earlier) to the village of Yankok.[1]

It should also be made clear that the inter-village migration of Au people is not confined to their own area. In Figure 7, some of the villages from which the Puang have migrated are not Au-speaking. In this regard note that, as shown in chapter six, Au people form a unit linguistically and culturally, but not politically.

We have briefly described clan migrations; we may now show, firstly, how and why these migrations take place and, secondly, the type of inter-village kinship ties which they produce. The clan rarely migrates as a whole; migrating is usually due to

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1. The latter clan (its Hasi Yankok lineage) partly returned to Puang later. See Fig.7.

fission within the clan and, consequently, is what only some members of the clan decide to do. Clan fission is hardly ever caused by the clan becoming too large. Land is abundant in the area and clans and villages can well afford increasing their limited population. Clan fission is caused by problems such as intra-clan and inter-clan homicides and magical accusations within the village, as illustrated in chapter five. It is also caused by calamities, such as earthquakes, violent storms, and epidemics, which are interpreted in terms of magic and the harmful acts of certain spirits. Sometimes calamities cause the entire members of a clan (or a hamlet or a village) to change their place of residence or to disperse, joining other villages.

The above causes of clan migration are also in accord with the Puang's own views, except that those views have often a mythical or animistic aspect. The Tanik Ninik clan, for instance, state that they migrated into Puang because of a violent storm in their village of origin, while adding that the storm itself was caused by someone performing storm-magic in that village. It may also be mentioned that, like epidemics, earthquakes and storms are not too uncommon in the area. New Guinea is in an earthquake zone and storms are often a characteristic of the tropics. It is no wonder that,

in the Puang's belief, the cargoist millenium will begin with a severe earthquake, a heavy rain, a strong wind, and an outburst of thunder.

Since in inter-village clan migrations it is only some members (or one or a few lineages) of the clan who migrate, these migrations create patrilineal links among villages. Thus in Puang each clan has patrilineal kin in from one to several other villages. A person refers to a patrilineal relative in another village as kai yinak (A.), meaning 'my other part', or 'my other half' (kai:my; yinak:part, half). Patrilineal relatives residing in different villages cannot inter-marry; and when their villages are at war, in guerrilla raids or formal battles, they either do not take part in the war or participate in it but do not try to harm or kill each other. Also, such relations do not practice destructive magic against each other; nor do they accuse each other of practising this type of magic. When a person happens to go to another village in which his patrikin are residing they feed him, are hospitable to him, and make sure that he leaves the village unharmed magically and otherwise. If a person decides to re-join his patrikin in the village from which his ancestors have migrated he will be welcome to do so, as migration reduces, but does not terminate, a person's original rights in land in

that village. We have already seen that one of the lineages of the Tanik Ninik clan returned to Puang and re-joined this clan after having migrated into the village of Yankok for some time.

Inter-village patrikin show some degree of solidarity in the practice of destructive magic, which plays such an important role in the social life of Au people. If, for instance, I perform destructive magic against a person in another village who is patrilineally related to a man in my own village I must not inform that man of the magic; otherwise than man will become indignant and might retaliate by performing destructive magic on one of my own patrilineal relatives in another village. To give another type of example. As we have seen in some detail in chapter six, in the Puang's view a man not only ought not to kill a fellow-villager by magic, but also he cannot do so without risking his own life: since he lives in close vicinity to the victim, he will easily be recognized and attacked by the victim's ghost. There is, however, a way in which the risk of retaliation of the victim's ghost may be avoided. A man may take the left-over food of a fellow-villager and send it to one of his patrilineal relatives in another village to perform the magic on his behalf.

The question which arises now is whether or not inter-village patrikin are members of the same clan.

These kin (or rather their ancestors) were, of course, originally members of the same clan and the same village. But the question is if, after migrating and residing in different villages, they may still be regarded as a clan. On the basis of what is said below the answer to this question seems to be negative, despite the fact that these kin continue to have certain mutual ties as described above.

Inter-village patrikin are divided into a number of intra-village groups, and only these groups may each be regarded as a clan. Clan fission, which results in migration, is a process by which new clans are born. In Puang the clan is an independent unit and not a sub-clan related to similar sub-clans in other villages. The following facts will make the point clear.

i. Inter-village patrikin as a totality have no common name. Moreover, the intra-village groups, or clans, of which this totality consists have each a distinct name. For instance, the Tanik Ninik clan and its patrikin residing in other villages do not have a common name; and the intra-village groups into which the patrikin of this clan are divided are each called by a separate name and none is called Tanik Ninik. We have already seen that after migration clans, or groups of agnates which are trying to develop into new clans,

assume new names; names which often relate to their migration routes, but are not the same as their clan names in their villages of origin.

ii. Inter-village patrikin believe that they have common male ancestors; but they cannot recall the name of any of these ancestors. The most remote ancestors whose names are recalled in each clan are those who migrated into the village, assumed, or came to be known by, a new clan name, and founded the clan. The names of pre-migration ancestors have fallen into oblivion.

iii. It is true that inter-village patrikin have mutual ties, such as occasional hospitality and a certain degree of solidarity with regard to warfare and destructive magic. But such ties are too limited. These kin never all gather to cooperate in any type of activity. They do not assist each other in daily work, such as gardening and hunting, in the payment of bride-wealth and compensation for homicide, and in the preparation of collective rituals. Nor do they have any form of regular gift-exchange. When a spectacular Singing Ritual is held in the village patrikin residing in the neighbouring villages are welcome to take part in the ritual; but so are other members of those villages.

It is indeed impossible for inter-village patrikin to have much cooperation, as they belong to different

villages, each of which is a politically autonomous unit and frequently in conflict with, or suspicious of, others. On the whole, village solidarity is given more importance than inter-village kinship ties. This can be seen in a fact mentioned earlier. If one of my fellow-villagers performs destructive magic against a patrilineal relative of mine in another village, I will become indignant and might try to do the same to one of my fellow-villager's patrilineal relatives in another village. However, what I will not do is perform destructive magic against my fellow-villager himself.

iv. Inter-village patrikin do not have a common drumming call, which is, as we have seen before, one of the characteristics of the clan. Nor do they have, strictly speaking (see below), the same hunting spirit, which is another, and a major, characteristic of the clan.

Thus it could be said that inter-village patrikin do not constitute a clan, but a number of clans each of which is residing in one village and all of which believe that they have originated from the same clan. What such inter-village kin constitute may, perhaps, be called 'phratry'. It should, however, be noted that this phratry is, as mentioned above, unnamed; moreover, some of its component clans may not have any form of inter-action with each other. When inter-village patrikin

reside in more than a few villages, or when they reside in very distant villages, some of the villages hardly ever come into contact with each other.

We wish to end this section by describing the relationship between clan migration and the hunting spirit, since the latter is, as we have seen, so important for the formation of the clan as a hunting, warring, and land-holding unit. In reading the above account on migration the reader may have wondered what happens to the hunting spirit of a clan when some members of the clan decide to migrate into another village. The Puang believe that, sometimes, the spirit migrates with these members of the clan. There are a number of questions to be clarified about this belief. The first one is how the Puang come to know that the spirit has, as they put it, 'followed' them in their migration? They come to know of it through dreams, in which the spirit appears, often in the form of the dreamer's father or grandfather, and says that it has followed them and where its new sacred abode is.

The second question is when part of a clan migrate with the hunting spirit, is the remaining part of the clan left without a hunting spirit? The spirit is not, in the Puang's view, capable of being bilocal or multilocal, and as a result it cannot be in more than one

village at the same time. But, in the Puang's view, the spirit has often brothers or sons, who are of the same name as the spirit and who may reside in other villages. It is only the spirit's brother or son who follows the migrating part of a clan to a new village; the spirit itself remains in its original place, unless the whole clan, or the majority of the clan, decide to migrate. The Meinemonak clan, for example, was originally a small segment of a clan in the village of Weisin, from which it migrated into Puang later. The Meinemonak believe that Weimenu, their hunting spirit, is both in Weisin and Puang, but add that the spirit in Weisin is Weimenu the father and the spirit in Puang Weimenu the son. Thus patrikin residing in different villages do not have, strictly speaking, the same hunting spirit, but their hunting spirits may have the same name and may be thought of as being the male members of the same family.

The last question is why sometimes the hunting spirit is not believed to follow the migrants to their new village? It is because sometimes the migrants are very small in number, do not feel justified in expecting the spirit, or its brother or son, to follow them, and, consequently, do not dream about this matter. It is also because sometimes the migrants, whether numerically

small or not, join another clan in their new village. Since in this way the migrants acquire the protection of the hunting spirit of another clan, they do not need their own hunting spirit any more and, consequently, do not dream about that spirit following them.

c. Clans and Clan-Clusters

Although some of the Puang clans are independent, most of them have joined one or two other clans and have formed what may be called 'clan-clusters'.

Table 23 : CLAN-CLUSTERS AND INDEPENDENT CLANS, AND THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH HUNTING SPIRITS

Names of Clans		key:
		{ clan-cluster
1. Meinemonak	+	[independent clan
2. Tounununk	+	+ with a hunting spirit
3. Mani Sia Hiika	-	- without a " "
1. Suluk	+	
2. Buluwa	-	
1. Tanik Ninik	+	
2. Miripluk	+	
3. Taruwap	+	

The basic reason why a clan joins another clan is that it does not have a hunting spirit. We have already explained that sometimes clans do not have their own hunting spirits and that a clan cannot become a hunting, warring and, above all, land-holding unit without being associated with such a spirit. To say that a clan joins other clans because it lacks a hunting spirit is to say that it does so in order to acquire land and 'spiritual' protection in hunting and warfare. When a clan decides to unite with another clan, the senior male members of the latter approach the sacred abode of their hunting spirit and ask the spirit to extend its protection to the new members. In order to approach the abode certain taboos must be observed, which include avoiding sexual intercourse for three days in advance.

In the above table, as one would expect, every independent clan has its own spirit, whereas every clan within a clan-cluster does not. A careful look at the table, however, raises a question. Within a clan-cluster only one of the clans need to have a spirit: if two (or more) of such clans had each a spirit they would not have needed to join each other. The question is, why, in the table, in one of the clan-clusters, two of the clans, namely, Meinemonak and Touninuk, have each its own spirit? The answer to this question is

as follows. When the Touninuk clan migrated into Puang it did not have a spirit, that is why it joined the Meinemonak clan, which even then had a spirit. Some generations later the people of the Touninuk clan had, however, a dream in which one of their ancestors said that he had decided to reside as a hunting spirit in their land. The dream was no accident, as this clan was well developed numerically[1] and its members felt justified, however unconsciously, to have more independence. The Meinemonak and Touninuk clans are now more independent than is usually the case with the component clans of a clan-cluster. They are not, however, totally independent, as can be seen in their beliefs regarding their spirits. The two spirits of these clans are believed to play the role of one spirit. A hunting spirit is usually assumed, as described earlier, to assist in both hunting and warfare. In contrast, the spirit of the Meinemonak clan is believed to assist only in hunting and that of the Touninuk clan only in warfare.

Clan-clusters, unlike clans, do not each have a distinct name. Nor is there a term for 'clan-cluster' in the Au language. A Puang man does not say that his clan belongs to a clan-cluster, but simply that his clan has 'joined' another clan, or his clan (if it is

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1. For the numerical strength of this and other clans see Table 21.

the one without a hunting spirit) has been 'adopted' by another clan. The component clans of a clan-cluster are well aware that they are not related to each other by consanguinity, and do not try, consciously or unconsciously, to create such a relationship by means of putative or fictitious genealogies and migration stories. Their members do, however, address one another by kinship terms, such as 'brother', if they are of the same generation, and 'father', if the addressee is of the senior generation. The component clans are forbidden to inter-marry, and may assist each other in many ways. They may assist each other in daily work, the payment of bridewealth, the compensation for homicide, the preparation of collective rituals, destructive magic, and guerrilla raids. Also they are much less likely to resort to destructive magic against each other than are independent clans.

The component clans of a clan-cluster are, however, relatively independent. They have each their own drumming call, magical spells, myths, sago spirit, and at times some other spirits, such as one or a few healing spirits. As far as marriage is concerned, as will be shown later, the 'alliance group' is usually a clan (and rarely a lineage), but not a clan-cluster. In other words, each clan exchanges women with a different

set of other clans. Moreover, when two clans join with one of them giving land to the other, in the course of time the land-taking clan comes to be regarded as the actual owner of the land, as its members look after the land, plant food trees there, and after death reside there as the ancestors and have the land under their protection. This is true despite the fact that the land-giving clan continues to be known as the original owner of the land.

We have briefly described the characteristics of the clan-cluster. This leads us to the clarification of an unusual (anthropologically) aspect of the clan. We have seen that the members of the clan-cluster are not all related to each other by consanguinity. In this regard the clan (whether independent or part of a cluster) is not radically different, as it usually includes a significant number of non-agnates[1] and especially non-relatives.

The first fact to be mentioned is that the clan tends to adopt outsiders, whether relatives or not, easily. In Puang being adopted by other clans is very common and continues in every generation. For instance, if a mother's brother does not have a son, he may, and is indeed entitled to, adopt one of his sister's sons. If in one of the hamlets of the village a young man has

1. Throughout this chapter the term 'non-agnates' is not intended to include the women who are married into the clan.

an intra-clan or inter-clan quarrel, he may, fearing magical retaliation, or out of shame, move to another hamlet and join another clan. If a man supports a child until the latter grows up, as in the case of a man supporting his wife's child from her ex-husband, he is entitled to regard the child as his own. If a clan contributes to bridewealth in the marriage of a man from another clan, it may expect not to receive the same type of help later but to adopt one of the man's future children - preferably a male child.

When a man is adopted into another clan, it does not mean that his children will, necessarily, remain in the same clan. The clan is entitled to have only his first male child. His other children may return to their original clan, if not adopted by still another clan. In the early period of the fieldwork I was frequently confounded when inquiring about the clan affiliation of men in Puang. Sometimes it happens that a man says that he belongs to clan A; whereas his own brother (adopted by another clan) says that he belongs to clan B; and their own father (adopted by still another clan) mentions clan C.

Moreover, those adopted into the clan may come from another village. When inter-village migration takes place, the migrants become adopted into a clan

if they are very small in number; and if not, they try to form a clan-cluster with a clan. In inter-village, unlike intra-village, adoption, all the children of a man usually remain in the same clan - and the same village - into which he is adopted.

The reader may have the impression that the adopted members of the clan form only a minority in it and, consequently, the agnatically related members are in a majority. This is sometimes the case. In the Tanik Ninik clan less than five per cent of its members are, or are believed to be, non-agnates. What is, however, often the case is that agnates are not in a majority in the clan. In the Taruwap clan there is no one who is, or is believed to be, truly Taruwap. The Taruwap have died out and the present members of the clan are the descendents of those who had been adopted into it in the past. In the Meinemonak clan the real Meinemonak do not form the majority or the core of the clan. This clan also includes the Yanapen, the Pimaluk, the Tepnank, and the Hanut, who are not related to the Meinemonak or each other agnatically or otherwise, and whose ancestors have joined the clan at different times and have migrated into Puang from different villages.

Furthermore, sometimes the clan is not even believed to have been founded by an agnatically related group.

the founders of the Mani Sia Hiika clan are said to be two men called Menpen and Mauki. These men are not, however, believed to have been agnates, or related to one another in any other way. Indeed they did not even come from the same village. It is said that the latter man migrated into Puang from the village of Anguganak and was adopted as a brother by the former man, who had already left his own village, Yili, and settled with his two wives in Puang.

The fact that, to a lesser or greater degree, the clan includes non-agnates (or non-relatives) is not, however, necessarily much of a problem. The problem can be solved by creating putative or fictitious genealogical connections with the non-agnates and forgetting their foreign origins in the course of time. What is, anthropologically speaking, unusual and striking about the Puang is that, firstly, they do not attempt, consciously or unconsciously, to distort their genealogies and history in this regard. For the Puang, there is no significant difference between, say, the Tanik Ninik clan, which has a negligible number of non-agnates, and most other clans, which include a large number of non-agnates. In the field, the Puang provided me with the facts regarding the non-agnatic aspect of their clans willingly, sometimes voluntarily, and always

without any attempt to hide the truth. Secondly, in the clan non-agnates are addressed by kinship terms, treated as kin, and given the same rights as agnates. Sometimes in the heat of a major quarrel a non-agnate, whose ancestors are from another village, might be told, 'You do not belong here. Go back to your own place'. Such a statement is not, however, taken seriously by anyone; and the person who makes it may himself be a non-agnate of foreign origin.

d. Conclusion: The Puang's Conception of Kinship

Let us at first summarize what has so far been said in the present chapter. The Puang are divided into eight patrilineal exogamous clans, the members of each of which reside in more than one hamlet. The clan consists of one or six lineages and the average number of its living adult males is 20.5 . Lineages are usually of shallow depth and their genealogies often cover not more than two to five generations (of the deceased). The clan has a name, a drumming call, a hunting spirit, and sometimes a totemic ancestor; it forms a land-holding, hunting, and warring unit and is a peace group; and it often includes a significant number of non-relatives or at least non-agnates.

Inter-village migration is a characteristic of the area and results in the clan having patrilineal

ties with one or several other villages. Inter-village patrikin, who have originated from the same clan, continue to have certain links, namely, occasional hospitality and some degree of solidarity in the practise of destructive magic and warfare. They are forbidden to inter-marry and form what might be called 'phratry', which is unnamed.

Clans are either independent or have joined one or two other clans forming clan-clusters. A clan joins other clans in order to acquire a hunting spirit, that is, to acquire land and protection in hunting and warfare. The component clans of the clan-cluster do not have kinship ties, though their members address one another by kinship terms; they are relatively independent and may help each other in daily work, payment of bridewealth, collective rituals, etc. The clan-cluster is unnamed and exogamous and, unlike the clan, is not the alliance group with regard to marriage.

The description of the kinship structure of Puang society, summarized above, leaves us with some questions regarding what was called earlier the unusual aspect of the clan in Puang. The first question is why the clan tends to assimilate outsiders, who are non-agnates and especially non-relatives, easily and to a considerable degree? The answer to this question lies in the fact that the whole area in which Puang is located is under-

populated. As a result, villages as well as clans welcome outsiders in order to increase their numerical strength, which is necessary, among other things, for warfare. Outsiders are also assimilated for the purpose of preserving numerical strength, as untimely deaths, caused by illness and malnutrition and explained by destructive magic and the acts of evil spirits, are very common in the area.

The answer to the above question also lies in the fact that in the area, land, or rather arable land, is abundant; and this gives a chance to people to move from one clan to another, or to migrate from one village into another, without much difficulty. Up to the present time land does not seem to have ever been a problem in the area. The Puang do not have a myth, a set of beliefs, or a migration story in which the shortage of land is even mentioned. As shown in chapter six, wars are never waged in order to occupy the enemy's territory. At times the enemy are driven out of their village or forest land, only to be allowed to return soon afterwards. On rare occasions there are minor land disputes, such as inter-village quarrels over trespass on garden land or sago palm stands near the boundary of the forest land of the village.

The next question is concerned with what appears to

be the most puzzling aspect of kinship in Puang. On the one hand, the Puang address the adopted members of the clan by kinship terms and treat them as kin, and on the other, refuse, even unconsciously, to create fictitious genealogical connections with these members. In other words, the Puang appear not to be able to make up their minds as to whether they wish to regard the adopted members of the clan as kin or not. Like any other people, the Puang are, of course, capable of manipulating their past genealogies, at least unconsciously. As shown before, they have begun to do so, under the influence of the cargo cult, in the post-contact period. The cargo cult itself is a gigantic example of the manipulation of the past beliefs for the sake of present needs and interests.

The reason why the Puang do not, traditionally, manipulate their genealogies, or preserve long genealogies, is that such a manipulation, or preservation, cannot be of great value in an area in which people are inclined to change their clan and village affiliation so frequently. And what is more, the Puang conceive kinship differently from what is usually understood in anthropology. For the Puang kinship is based on blood ties, which are created not only by genealogical connections, but also by living in the same locality and consequently sharing the same food. Thus in order to have blood ties with

the non-agnatic members of the clan, the Puang do not need to resort to fictitious genealogies, as in the course of time such ties develop between the agnatic and non-agnatic members through sharing food.

The Puang's beliefs regarding food, and consequently nature, are extremely elaborate. Here the limitation of space does not allow us to make more than brief references to a few sets of beliefs. In the Puang's view, the most important food-stuffs which a man provides include his blood. His blood is said to go into the major plants he cultivates, such as taro, yams, the coconut, and the breadfruit, and the major animal he hunts, namely, the pig. Thus when a man supports an adopted child until the latter grows up the child is regarded as the man's own child, as the child has continually eaten the foods which include the man's blood. Likewise, a husband and wife are called, not the owners, but the father and the mother of the dog, or the domestic pig, which they have looked after. This idea is taken seriously, as the owners of these animals are forbidden to eat them on the grounds that one should not eat one's own children.[1] A man's blood-relationship with the major food-stuffs which he produces is also taken seriously, in the sense that he is forbidden to eat them. The only exceptions in this regard are taro and yams. The Puang say, 'Yes, it is true that a person ought not

1. It is noteworthy that contagious magic may be performed on domestic pigs and dogs as well as human beings.

to eat the taro and yams which he has cultivated. But we have always done so. Our ancestors did the same. We are just following our ancestors'.

Sharing food creates blood ties not only among the living members of the clan, whether agnates or non-agnates, but also between these members and the ancestors of the clan. The most important food-stuffs of the clan are believed to include the ancestors' blood or to be associated with the ancestors animistically. We have just seen that a man is forbidden to eat from most of the major plants which he cultivates and which include his blood. Those who eat from such plants are his children and his patrilineal descendants, who consequently partake of his blood. The Puang's staple food is made from the sago palm, which takes many years to grow and is, therefore, always planted by an ancestor.

The above-mentioned major crops (i.e. taro and yams) and trees are also associated with the ancestors in another way. In planting such crops and trees, a man is helped by his ancestors. It is believed that the night before the planting the ancestors plant the 'souls' of the crops or the trees concerned and what the man does the day after is merely repeating what the ancestors have already done animistically. Likewise, it is believed that in shooting the pig a man is

repeating what the ancestors have done animistically the night before. Moreover, fish as well as the pig are believed to be the transformations of the ancestors, who appear as such in order to provide their descendants with food. This belief does not, however, imply that the Puang, in their view, eat their own ancestors. The Puang say that as soon as they shoot a pig or catch fish the 'soul' of the ancestor concerned comes out of the pig and fish.

For an outside observer, the food-stuffs of different clans are the same things; for instance, taro, whether it happens to belong to this or that clan, is the same thing. For the Puang, the food-stuffs of each clan are, however, intrinsically different from those of other clans, because, as shown above, such things are believed to be exclusively saturated with the blood or the souls of the living members and ancestors of the clan concerned. Moreover, beliefs of this type are taken seriously in everyday life. Sometimes the illness of a person is, for example, attributed to his having eaten the sago of different clans together, as the sago of each clan is something distinct and may, animistically, be harmful to the members of other clans. We have just seen that the sago palms of each clan are planted by, and consequently saturated with the blood of, the ancestors of that clan. We have also seen

earlier that each clan has a distinct sago-spirit, which is believed to be crucial for the growth of its own sago palms.

It should be noted that the kinship relationship of a child with his true parents is not, in the Puang's view, merely pre-natal; and what we mean by this is not only the fact that parents provide the child with food, which is believed to include parents' blood. In the Puang's view, the soul of the baby is the return of the soul of an ancestor.[1] In procreation what the father and the mother contribute, namely, semen by the former and blood by the latter, relate to the body of the baby. This blood-relationship between the mother and the baby is explained by the fact that when a woman becomes pregnant she stops menstruating. It is also believed that there are pre-natal ties of blood between the father and the baby. These ties are understood, not in terms of the idea that semen is transformed into blood in the womb, but in terms of the belief that in the very act of copulation, as in planting, a man somehow uses and discharges his blood.

The bodily relationship of the baby with his parents is, however, post-natal as well as pre-natal. Firstly, the mother gives her own milk to the baby;

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1. See also p.195.

and this milk is assumed to be essential for the growth of the baby. Secondly, there is a ritual in which the father actually gives his own blood to the baby to eat. Sometime after a baby is born and cleansed the father bleeds his own penis, mixes the blood with his wife's milk, and, after placing the mixture in a bamboo tube or on the leaf of a wild taro (A. napok tounak), gives it to his baby to eat. The father also uses his penile blood to smear his baby's head. This ritual is believed to contribute to the baby's growth.

Thus, for the Puang, kinship derives from bodily, and especially blood, ties, has an animistic aspect, and is, on the one hand. pre-natal and procreative (or genealogical) and, on the other, post-natal and nutritive, resulting from sharing the same locality and food. Similar conceptions of kinship are found in some other societies in Papua New Guinea. Regarding the Bena Bena, we are told, 'the sheer fact of residence in a Bena Bena group can and does determine kinship. People do not necessarily reside where they do because they are kinsmen; rather, they become kinsmen because they reside there.'[1] Among the Siane the paternal spirit enters into a person in many ways, one of which is 'the father's semen', and another, 'food eaten during childhood which contains

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1. L.L. Langness, 1966, op.cit., p.144.

spirit from the land on which it is grown'.[1] In Maring society:

> "First generation non-agnates in residence are usually considered members of other clans. Their children, however, appear to be considered members of the clan with which their father resides. The rationalization for this is that those children have been nourished by and grown on the products of local land and therefore may be claimed as members of the clan."[2]

Although the Puang and some other societies in Papua New Guinea take the connection between kinship and food, perhaps, to its extreme, beliefs regarding this connection most likely exist, we believe, to a lesser or greater degree in primitive societies in general. What Richards writes about food among the Bemba of northern Rhodesia is probably true of every primitive society. For instance:

> "Food is ... something that has to be shared';[3]

or

> "Food is the source of some of his most intense emotions, provides the basis for some of his most abstract ideas, and the metaphors of his religious life .... To the primitive man it may come to symbolize some of his highest spiritual experiences, and express his most significant social ties."[4]

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1. R.F. Salisbury, 'New Guinea Highland Models and Descent Theory', in Man, 1964, Vol.64, p.170. See also R.F. Salisbury, 'The Siane of the Eastern Highlands', in Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia, Some Religions of Australian New Guinea and the New Hebrides, (eds) P. Lawrence and M.J. Meggitt, 1965, Melbourne, Oxford University Press.
2. C. Lowman-Vajda, 'Maring Big Men', in Politics in New Guinea, Traditional and in the Context of Change, Some Anthropological Perspectives, (eds) R.M. Bernolt and P. Lawrence, 1971, University of Western Australian Press, p.322.
3. A.I. Richards, Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia, 1939, Oxford, p.197.
4. Ibid., pp.173-74.

The idea is not far-fetched that when a person gives others the food which he has produced (or cooked), he is giving part of himself. The close link between sex and eating is well-known in anthropology.[1] One needs to take only one step further and argue that there is also a close link between kinship and food. Moreover, it is common knowledge in anthropology that in primitive societies man's conception of nature is animistic. In these societies peope are, therefore, bound to have some animistic beliefs, in one form or another, about their food and the land on which they live and are so dependent. Note that animistic beliefs regarding food are not too unrealistic, as food is as much a creation of man as that of nature. The belief that a person's left-over food is saturated with his soul is unquestionably wide-spread, as it is the very foundation of contagious magic, which is almost a universal characteristic of primitive thought.[2]

The Puang's conception of kinship appears so unusual or strange, because the significant connection between kinship and food has not sufficiently been studied so far. Moreover, the study of animistic beliefs has increasingly become neglected, especially under the influence of Lévi-Strauss and his followers.

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1. See the present thesis pp.453,496-99, which include the Puang ideas in this regard and a discussion on the relationship between sex and cooking. It is also noteworthy that, as seen in the following chapter, in Puang a prospective bride and bridegroom are regarded as formally married after they have eaten together for the first time; and they do not eat together unless they have already had sexual intercourse.
2. See pp.113,602-605.

It is not, we believe, the Puang's conception which extends the meaning of kinship, it is the genealogical conception which restricts this meaning. The genealogical conception does not tell us about the original meaning of kinship in primitive societies. Rather, it tells us about industrial societies, in which kinship is conceived merely in terms of genealogical connections, and sharing the same locality or food does not often create personal relationship of much significance. Sometimes there is a tendency in anthropology to put the cart before the horse. What is called the 'extended family' is a misnomer: it is the nuclear family, a dominant characteristic of industrial societies, which should be called the 'restricted family'.